

THE
GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

CONTAINING
ORIGINAL ESSAYS AND SELECTIONS

ON THE SUBJECT OF

African Slavery.

BENJAMIN LUNDY, EDITOR.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

VOL. III.

GREENEVILLE, TENN.
PRINTED BY THE EDITOR.
1823-4.

CHRONICLE OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 1. Vol. III.

SEVENTH MONTH, 4th, 1823.

WHOLE No. 29

ANNIVERSARY OF FREEDOM'S BIRTH DAY, IN THE NORTH AMERICAN UNION.

The morning dawns on ten millions of free men! exclaimed the Colonel, as he was roused, at break of day, by the shrill note of Chanticleer, from the tree beside his stately mansion.—This is the anniversary of the glorious birth-day of American Liberty—the day on which the people of the United States spurned the yoke of oppression, and declared to the world that "FREEDOM IS THE NATURAL RIGHT OF ALL MEN."—Jack! you lazy dog, are you up yet?—Yes Massa.—Sal, why are these window shutters not opened?—(Solus.—These Slaves of mine are a worthless set; they will do nothing, unless they are driven.)—What a proud epoch, in the annals of America, shall we this day commemorate! How conspicuous will the names of those sages, who planned and executed our *Emancipation* from British thralldom, appear in the temple of Fame!—They will be surrounded with a halo of glory, the reward of their meritorious deeds; generations yet unborn, shall pay the tribute of praise to their memory; and millions, with grateful hearts, will award the meed of renown.—Yes, EVERY MORTAL that treads the free soil, and inhales the pure air of America, shall sing the song of Liberty, and each at present feels that his bonds are sundered by the potent arm of Eternal Justice. Here is a lesson for kings—here, too, is an example for petty tyrants, who lord it over their miserable tenants, those abject slaves that crouch to their upstart mightinesses, & even kiss the hand that beats them. Thank God, in this free republican country every man is secure in the enjoyment of his natural and inherent rights, and receives the reward of his industry, his ingenuity, or his enterprise.

How far the Colonel proceeded in this rhapsodical soliloquy, I do not know; but let us now turn our attention to what passed in another part of the house, betwixt his son James and one of his men slaves, named Caesar.

Caesar.—Massa Jame me grad to hear you fader talk so much 'bout liberty.

Liberty mus be good ting,—but poor negur, why he no feel it?

James.—Why every body knows that the negroes are not fit to enjoy their liberty; they are so debased and degraded, that they never could get a living without somebody to oversee them.

Caesar.—Wat de reason negur so debased?—How come wite man make slabe eb him? Who gib him de pribilege do die?

James.—The negroes are so barbarous, in their own country, that they are always at war; and they sell their prisoners for slaves. It is a blessing to be brought to this free Christian country, [Caesar—(aside) Curious blessin, indeed; me wonder dey tink we be big fool as dey be big rogue!] where they may become religious, and be safe from the hands of petty tyrants, who rule them with despotic sway; yes indeed, it is a blessing to them to be here, even if they are slaves.

Caesar.—Every body know some negur be ignorant an barbarous; some wite men be barbarous too, or dey woud'nt take rum, powder, guns, swords, dirks an ebry murderous ting dey can git from de bery hell, for gib em to kill one anoder, and take prisoners to sell to de slabe trader—and den, wat make dem in dis cristen country buy de husband from de wife, de chilren from de fader and de moder, an make em mose break de heart; make em lib wus dan de dog; not let um go to meetin, some places, to larn erligin; gib um no cloze hardly, an notten hardly to eat, wile dey make poor feller work ready to kill heself?—Dis look bery like blessin—ha, ha!

James.—The negroes have so little care, being provided for always, by their masters, that they are much more happy than they would be if they were free.

Caesar.—Berry happy gettin de peck o' corn a week; eatin de cotton seed; an he back bare to de hot sun, an made all raw, whippin wid de cowskin!

James.—You saucy lying rascal, this is not the way you are treated.

Caesar.—Great many be treat jis so.—But spose some be use better, how can dey be happy wen not allowed de liberty wich ebry body want, an wich de wite man say belong to ebry body? You say "Freedom"

de de nat'ral right ob ALL MEN—how den dese gib it to de black man, well as de wite man?

James.—When the people of the United States declared themselves free and independent, they did not recognize the negroes as men; they knew the slaves were not fit for the enjoyment of freedom, and very wisely permitted them to remain in the situation they found them, at that period.

Caesar.—Wy no sidder um men?—dey mus be men or else beast; an how could de beast talk, and do all kine o' business, like de men; an how could he larn read de bible, and get erligen?—You say dey be tot dat, wen dey cum here.

James.—I say the negroes are so far inferior to the white people that they are not fit to be associated with them; and that they are not even fit to have their liberty at all. And as to reading the bible, or any thing else, it would not be proper to allow it; for it would spoil them—they would be so bad we could do nothing with them.

Caesar.—Ah! now, Massa Jame, dat de way you talk?—You say negur debase, an no fit to sociate wid de wite people; but you gib him no chance to know any ting.—You say it blessin to him wen cum to dis country, to larn be erligious, but you no let him larn dat. Ebery body say dat de bible be good book, and make folks be good, but you no let negur see wat's in it.—How you expect em be good, wen you sarb em so?

James.—O, hold your tongue; I wont disgrace myself so much as to argue with a negro.

No further conversation took place between them, in my hearing: but the observations that passed should not be forgotten.

How often, indeed do we hear people, express themselves in a similar manner! *The Fourth of July, 1776*, "the era of a nation's birth," is observed throughout the North American Confederacy as a day of myth and festivity. Military parading, feasting, dancing, orations, songs and toasts, mark the annual return of that important period. Each successive anniversary is hailed with the most lively demonstrations of joy and gladness.—And what, courteous reader, is it that distinguishes this day from all others in the American political calendar? Why it is this precisely.—It was the ever memorable period when the declaration of American Independence was first promulgated; when the patriotic tongue of a *Jefferson* gave utterance to those emphatic words, those almost super-human sentiments which I have adopted as a standing motto for the "Genius

of Universal Emancipation" viz:—

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—**DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE U. S.**

These are, indeed, "truths," which are worthy of Universal regard; and I trust will stand the test, and bear the scrutiny of time.—Where is the freeman, in this wide extended continent, that is disposed to question then? There is none.—Every one subscribes to the correctness of the doctrine. It cannot be gainsayed, for though the channel through which it was conveyed was human, the source from whence it emanated, is divine.

But notwithstanding all this, how illy does our conduct correspond with our professions! What is meant by the use of the term "ALL MEN" in the case before us?—Is it to be taken in the literal sense in which we find it, or has it no definite meaning?—Does it, indeed, as some have insinuated, apply to *white* men only, and exclude all besides? Audacious and impudent Sophistry, hide thy shameless head until the grave shall cover with its gloomy mantle the sage from whose lips those sublime accents flowed.—Rear not thy crimson gory crest, ere the icy hand of death shall still the motion of that eye which would annihilate thee with its indignant glance. Neither a *Jefferson* nor any other individual of the associate sages and patriots of '76, ever harboured the monstrous idea that the *small portion of mankind only* which are denominated 'white,' were entitled to the privileges of freedom. The promulgation of such an arrogant, presumptuous, and outrageous sentiment, would have been viewed as little less than a **DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE WORLD!**—Nay verily, it has been reserved for the sons of corruption in these latter days, when they feel themselves secure from the attacks of foreign enemies, and when a few years toleration of the diabolical practice of personal slavery, under the benignant rays of a *Republican Sun*, has familiarized them with the most obnoxious association of ideas, and established, according to their opinion, a sort of precedent, to broach such monarchial, despotical, and preposterous arguments, for the basest of purposes.

But it will be asked (for the ten thousandth time) what shall be done with the slaves in our country, especially where they are very numerous?

Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

I answer, *Let justice be done*, and the God of nature will do the rest. Do with them as Generals Washington and Bolivar did with theirs; make them free men, that they may become useful citizens.

In my turn, I will ask, **WHY DID NOT THOSE TWO MEN MAKE THE SAME EXCUSE, THAT MANY DO NOW, & CONTINUE THEIR SLAVES IN BONDAGE?**—The reason is obvious: they knew it was radically wrong—that it was totally irreconcilable with the principles they strove to establish; and they **SET THE EXAMPLE TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN—THEY LIBERATED EVERY SLAVE THEY HAD; AND WE ARE BOUND IN DUTY TO PATTERN AFTER THEM.** Can we for a moment suppose that these two men, of military characters the best that the world ever produced, would have done any thing of the kind, if they had believed it would be detrimental to the cause of their country?—No: they knew it would distinguish them above all others—they knew it would immortalize their names, that the influence of their bright example would call forth the plaudits of admiring millions; and that it must finally have its desired effect. Already the people of Colombia have echoed the language of their patriotic General, in deeds as well as in words.—A portion of the North American Union has also trode in the footsteps of the great Washington; and nothing but prejudice and cold hearted **AVARICE** prevents the adoption of measures to carry the work of humanity and benevolence completely into effect in every part of the American continent and islands. But the time *will come*, when this prejudice and this avarice shall be done away. The cause of truth and justice must eventually triumph, and the works of darkness, of error and delusion shall fall before it.

A few months since, I received a letter from a friend in Ohio, informing me that some of the students of the Ohio University had formed an association called the Philomathian Society. He stated that their object was to establish an extensive Library; and as it was something of a public nature, they were willing to receive donations of Books and periodical works from such as should feel disposed to encourage it. He expressed a wish that the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* should be deposited in a place where so many opportunities would offer for it to be read by those who were qualifying themselves to take a part in

the public concerns of the national and state governments. In compliance with the solicitations of my friend, and feeling a desire, myself, to contribute my mite towards promoting the literary reputation of this country, I made a tender of the work to the directors, for the use of said Society. The following letter, acknowledging the receipt, it, came to hand a short time since, which I have thought proper to insert, permission having been given to do so. But I call not dismiss the subject without tendering my thanks for the favourable opinion they have been pleased to express of my work. I can assure them that my object is my country's welfare; and that this in my opinion can only be promoted by a adherence to truth and justice, and the maxims of *Christian Republicanism*. That the youth of this rising nation, which at present commands the admiration of the world, may keep in view the principles laid down as political landmarks, by those sages and patriots who founded our government, on the broad basis of *liberty and equality*; and that in qualifying themselves to discharge the important duties of Legislators, judges and expounders of the laws, they may be guided by the unerring spirit of true wisdom, is the ardent wish of the

*Editor of the
Genius of Universal Emancipation*

Athens, Ohio, June 7th, 1823.

SIR,

It would manifest a want of gratitude and respect, not to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated April 15th, 1823, together with your paper. The liberal offer which you have been pleased to make us, we cheerfully accept; and could we contribute, in the least degree, to the circulation of your paper, by expressing our highest esteem of its object and merit, we would willingly perform a duty, which is not only consistent with our feelings, but which we humbly conceive is due the cause of humanity.

We have perused your Numbers with a considerable degree of interest and satisfaction, and think them well calculated to effect the object they propose; & should you still continue to favour us with them, we shall esteem it a very valuable privilege. The Institution to which our Society is attached, is one whose importance is daily increasing, and the influence of which must shortly be felt in the western country. To inculcate early the principles of freedom upon the minds of those who are about to

It is true, that all the oppressions exercised in monarchical, and other governments, over the people, with the crimes consequent on injustice, have invariably produced the reaction of obduracy of heart in the ruling authorities, who varnish their diabolical designs over with the plea of necessity for either maintaining the hereditary succession of "legitimates," whose blood, by a long course of practical domination over their fellows, has become so varnished, that it is far superior to that which flows in the veins of others, or of the necessity of extravagant taxation, that the officers of government in aristocracies, democracies, &c. may be enabled to appear in splendor in the presence of the ministers of state belonging to monarchical establishments, whose superfluities and vanity too many of them have an emulation to copy.

A Republican government, certainly bears the first stamp of originality, yet republics, if not well guarded, may come to be as oppressive as any other; but as to monarchies, I do not believe that they were ever of divine origin.

If a monarchy should be the choice of a people, or if they voluntarily submit to kingly authority, the reaction of oppression and injury, with hard heartedness and pride in the ruler, in a greater or less degree, is but the natural result of their chosen policy. Monarchies universally carry with them the indelible marks or ensigns of oppression, whether the ruler sways his sceptre over a nation, or over but a very few individuals.

But the African slave trade was introduced without the shadow of a plea for necessity, or even expediency, but what might naturally grow out of the diabolical disposition of the most hardened assassin, in defence of his avaricious and nocturnal ravages; nor do I think that the continuation of the effects of that piratical act, is governed by a more justifiable principle (if examined to the bottom) than that from which it originated.

The African slave trade was first conceived in minds which had been previously hardened by the forbidden crime of avarice, & being ready prepared, and steeled against every sensation of humanity that they might interfere, rushed with violence, like the remorseless tiger, on the inoffensive and defenceless inhabitants, and with fire and sword, spread desolation, misery, death, and captivity, over one of the most fertile regions of the habitable globe.—Many of the surviving victims of worse

than savage cruelty, were brought to our American shores, and offered, bone and sinew, soul and body, as good saleable property to the inhabitants. It was with caution and hesitancy that many of them ventured to purchase the forbidden spoils, but the importers, fruitful in wiles, represented the negroes as a race of beings incapable of self government, and that it was doing them a favor to bring them to a christian land, from under the savage tyrants of their own country. But that slavery, which was at first but cautiously, and with scrupulous apprehension entered into, is now hugged with avidity, and thousands are glorying in the perpetuation of the effects of a traffic, which was, and still is, the fruitful source of misery to millions.

This can be accounted for upon no other principle, than that the commission of the crime of injustice with unremitted repetition, has hardened the hearts, not only of the immediate oppressors of the sable race, but also of those who by their taciturnity give their sanction to the deed, by not lifting up their voices against it. I think that it is generally acknowledged, that the tendency of slavery, is to stupify its subjects, and that in the degree that it is exercised upon man, they will in the same degree, be debased, and degraded in intellect; and I believe that it may be laid down as an invariable rule, that wherever the action of involuntary bondage is exercised, that its effects are reciprocated, and that the oppressor is visited and punished with a stupidity and degradation of mind, visible, to all who are not themselves in the same, or in a like unhappy situation. It is no uncommon thing for those who are in the spirit & practice of slave holding, to represent such as are opposed to the system, as being greatly inferior to themselves in point of information, and that themselves are the only well informed men, and most capable judges of the subject. And whence this arrogated wisdom, but from that individual blindness with which the Almighty has cursed them as a refection procured by their own voluntary violation of the rights of man?

The human heart is capable of acquiring either the softness of flesh, or the hardness of adamant; and when long conversant in the perpetration of crime, it becomes assimilated to the latter. It is certainly possible for men, and even women, to see the most flagrant violations of justice and humanity perpetrated from their infancy; to behold the most barbarous treatment of

slaves, inflicted in a variety of ways, and by custom to be so hardened in insensibility, as to look at them with perfect indifference, if not justify them as necessary and innocent diversions. Characters of this description are numerous in the world, and nothing but what is new, or uncommon, can arouse their dormant sensibilities. Yet but a band of Indians invade one of our frontier settlements, and carry off a few prisoners, the savage deed is echoed from state to state, the alarm is spread, war and slaughter is prepared, and vengeance is to be taken on the offenders; but *white savages* may have as many African captives for slaves as their kitchens can hold, and whip, slash, starve, sell and separate families, and even carry off children from their parents by cart loads to distant markets, and our late zealous advocates for the rights of man, when violated by *Indians*, look on, and see the human christian tigers drive along their captives, with no other emotions than those of indifference, or approbation.

For crimes approv'd, and to them long in-

nur'd,

Judicial blindness, has to be endur'd;
'Tis Heaven's decree, which cannot be re-

mov'd,

Requir'd by justice, and by God approv'd.

It is doubtless, from that judicial stupidity of mind, or reaction, consequent on the action of crime, that men who violate the rights of man by slave holding, assume the character of republicans. Were it not the case how could such claim the name, when that word carries with it the idea of a government of Universal Freedom, and the unreserved distribution of the equal rights of man?

But not only the character of republicans is claimed by men who violate the rights of their fellow men, and grow rich on the gain of oppression, but many, very many of them profess to be the *humble* followers of Christ, who came to preach deliverance to the captives; and still worse, some of them, with all their judicial insensibility, profess to be guides and leaders of the people to the realms of spotless blessedness, where neither the gain of oppression, or any other unclean thing can enter!

The foregoing subject presents a wide field for the exercise of the Philanthropist in the distribution of his sympathies; and it seems difficult to say which of the two classes,—the masters or the slaves, are the greatest objects of commiseration. Remove the cause, and the effects will cease—take

away the hardness from the heart, and blindness from the mind, and slavery will cease—take away slavery, and the reaction of hard heartedness will be removed. As the action of slavery exercised on the Africans in our country has degraded them in body and mind, so I conceive, that reaction has been reciprocated to the degradation of their oppressors, in *morals*, and intellect; and I would call on the friends of humanity, to use their best endeavors, 'egally, to restore both the one, and the other to the dignity of men, that *fellow feeling*, which constitutes one of the noblest traits in the human character, may assume its native seat, and spread through the continent, its salubrious influence.

PHILO HUMANITAS.

Extract from Governor Coles' Speech to the Legislature of Illinois.

The ordinance, established by Congress for the government of the North-Western Territory, declares that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the country. Yet, notwithstanding this, slavery still exists in the state. I call the attention of the Legislature, in an especial manner, to this subject; and if it should be considered that this fundamental prohibitory declaration has not had the effect of severing the bonds of servitude, I earnestly invoke the interposition of the Legislature in the cause of humanity.

By the terms of the cession of Virginia, to the United States, of the country north-west of the river Ohio, it was stipulated that the inhabitants thereof, who professed themselves to have been citizens of Virginia, previous to the cession, should "have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties." Under this stipulation, the negroes who were then in the Territory, and who were slaves by the laws of Virginia, were claimed by their masters; and continued in bondage; and in that state they and their posterity have ever since remained. As there is, however, no exception made in relation to these slaves in the general and explicit prohibition contained in the ordinance, it would seem to have been the intention of the framers of it, that slavery and involuntary servitude should cease.—Be this, however, as it may, the time has certainly arrived when the subject demands the serious consideration of the Legislature. As no one will contend that the stipulation of Virginia was intended to restrict Illinois forev-

And Justice Root Out.

er from eradicating this anomaly in her government, so none should deny that after a lapse of near forty years, she can do so without being subject to reproach, unless it be from having tolerated it so long. Conceiving it not less due to our principles, then to the rights of those held in bondage, that they should be restored to their liberty, I earnestly recommend to the Legislature that just and equitable provisions be made for the abrogation of slavery in the State.

Justice and humanity requires of us a general revisal of the laws relative to Negroes, in order the better to adapt them to the character of our institutions, and the situation of our country.

I would also recommend to the Legislature to enact more effective laws to prevent the kidnapping of free blacks—a crime which I am sorry to say is too often perpetrated with impunity in our state. I should not be for holding out any particular encouragement for the emigration of free negroes to the state, as they are a kind of population not to be desired; but the duty of society, as well as every benevolent feeling, demands of us to protect them as long as they remain among us, especially, in the enjoyment of the inestimable right of personal liberty. The peculiar situation of our State, bordered as it is on three sides by great navigable rivers, communicating with districts of country where there is always a ready demand for slaves, offers such a facility and temptation to this lawless and inhuman practice, as to require more efficient laws to count rect it.

A LAND OF BARBARIANS!

In Camden county, Georgia, on the 24th ultimo, a negro, by the name of Barrett, was tried for the murder of a man of the name of Collett, and sentenced to be hung, his head to be severed from his body and stuck upon a pole, and his body committed to the flames!!!

[This equals anything, in cold blooded cruelty, ever heard of in modern times.—A people that will countenance such a horrid procedure must labour under a wonderful delusion, or else be but one remove, in point of Christian civilization, from the savages of the American Wilderness.]

MANUMISSION.—One day last week there came to this borough a wagon, loaded with blacks of both sexes and of various ages, to the number of 58. Upon being interrogated, they said, they had been set

free by their master, Mr. James Gunnell, of Fauquier county, Virginia, at his death, and were *hunting homes*; and that he had given them the *team* and three hundred dollars, to make the best of them. We understand, they did not wish to *bind* any of their children, but to let them out for their victuals and clothes, until they could themselves get places as hirelings.

[*Carlisle Volunteer.*]

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, proud for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unwive the fetters of body and mind,
Nearth the shade of yon Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation

FOURTH OF JULY.

The morning dawns—proud millions hail

The era of a nation's birth;

While joy unfurls life's swelling sail

The heart vibrates in tuneful mirth.

'Tis freedom's blessings prompt the song,

And light with joy the white man's
face—

But not a gleam of joy along

Is brought to *Africa's* sable race.

No—avarice, despotic sway,

Pursue the *ebony* pilgrims still;

And dire oppression on the way

Their cup with keenest anguish fill.

In vain the notes of liberty,

Are thro' the gladsome nation sung;

They bear no pleasing witchery

To breasts with deep felt anguish wrung.

In vain the far-famed "*Freedom's Tree*"

Its spreading branches o'er *our* wave,

Beneath its boughs despondency

Weights down the way-worn toiling
slave.

In vain awake sweet music's strains,

In vain for him the wild flowers bloom;

The blood runs chilly thro' his veins,

He feels oppression is his doom.

Americans! of freedom proud,

Arise!—throw off your reverie,

Disperse oppression's low'ring cloud,

Then hail the sun of liberty.

MOUNTAIN MINSTREL.

PUBLISHED EVERY OTHER WEEK.

TERMS.—One dollar per annum, in advance, or one dollar and fifty cents, before the expiration of the year, for single subscriptions—Ten dollars per dozen copies, for companies.

Complete files may be had from the beginning.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 2. Vol. III.

SEVENTH MONTH, 18th, 1823.

WHOLE No. 30.

The title page & index, for Vol. II, will accompany the next Number.

THE FATHERS OF AFRICAN EMANCIPATION,

IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, lately received two letters, both from very aged men who have taken an active part in the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. One of them still resides in that state; the other in Kentucky. He has taken the liberty to give an extract from each of them. It must be a source of heart felt consolation to these faithful servants of the good cause, to see the exertions making at the present day to extend, establish and enforce, throughout this vast continent, the principles, the maxims and the precepts which they, in their noon of life, had laboured unceasingly and successfully to promulgate in that section of country.—Yes, venerable Fathers, the bright examples which you have set, shall not be lost to the present generation. Altho' the spirit of reform has slumbered a while; it only rested a little season to obtain new vigor.—It is again aroused; and let it have your benedictions; for your countenance and encouragement will be a powerful stimulant. It is to be hoped that nothing can prevent the ultimate consummation of the holy work. You may now possibly think that some of us are too zealous; but look back, for a moment, and see what has been the moral effect produced by your own animated exertions, together with those of a Lay, a Benezet, a Franklin, and hundreds of others. At that day, you saw the necessity of indulging an ardent zeal. You did indulge it, you persevered, you overcame.—give us your countenance and encouragement, and so will we.

The most of your *Elijahs* have been translated to another world; but their mantles have been caught by the *Elishas* of the present day. This it is your happy lot to witness. The evening of your days will be cheered with the irradiating beams of hope, and you can retire from the troubled scenes of laborious exertion under the consoling reflection that your works are remembered—that they are remembered to inspire with virtuous sentiments the breasts of your

children, and to animate with a laudable zeal, the philanthropists of this and succeeding generations.

Extract of a letter from an aged member of the Abolition Society, in Pennsylvania, to the editor, dated 24th of 4th month, 1823.

"During the years 1787 and 88 I lived in Philadelphia, and zealously employed my leisure time in assisting the Abolition Society, and we found the laws very defective. Dr. Franklin was then Governor, and was in favor of abolishing slavery. The Society elected him President, and they had several of the most eminent lawyers as standing council. They may see in the memorial of the Friends' Meeting of Sufferings that vessels had been fitted out from Philadelphia, supposed for the Slave Trade.

In the Summer of 1787 I was at Port Penn, 60 miles below Philadelphia in Delaware State. There was a ship came up and anchored under the lee of Reedy Island. The inhabitants thought strange to see a ship anchor with fair wind and tide. The pilot came ashore; they all knew him, and enquired where that ship was from & what kind of provisions they wanted. His answer was,

"From Guinea, with 1500 Slaves on board."

This electrified me. The people there were all Slave holders.—I dare not speak. The Captain and supercargo soon came on shore; the people gathered round and they gave a similar account, only that there were not so many slaves as the pilot reported; and it seemed to them all a matter of great rejoicing. I kept a strict eye and ear, and close mouth to all that passed until they went to feasting and drinking. I then went into my room and wrote to Governor Franklin a description of the ship, and all the particulars that I had learned, advising energetic measures as speedily and quietly as possible. Gov. Franklin received my letter within 30 hours after the ship cast anchor.—After sending the express, I went to bed in my room and through the window I could see the ship that contained such a mass of human misery.—It was moonlight; people came from the ship into the lower part of the house, and kept up such a frolic, as they might expect of such characters.

Sleep, or thoughts of eating, were far from me. I hope no friend of mine may ever have to pass such a painful night.

The ship did not proceed into the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania; and on consulting a lawyer I found that there was no law in Delaware to touch the vessel. I saw her weigh anchor on the 4th day, and set sail for the West Indies.

After my return to Philadelphia, my management to forward such early information was applauded, and a vessel of sufficient force had been sent privately to have taken the ship if it had ascended within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, and liberated all the slaves.

"That affair roused the public sentiment; it gave energy to the exertions of the Abolition Society to attend the election to have proper men elected."

After relating the circumstance of petitioning the Legislature for the passage of a law for a certain purpose, the writer proceeds:

"Wm. Lewis Esq. was selected in Philadelphia as their champion. When the members came in they were equally divided, and the members of the Society were afraid of William Findley from the westward; he had been in the year before, and by his powerful reasoning swayed the western members. He was a native of Ireland, a strict Presbyterian. He followed weaving and keeping school. I waited on him; he assured me he would exert all his influence to free the negroes. The other was a friend of mine, Gerardus Wyncoop, of Bucks County; the family had always kept negroes, and a large company had lately fell to him by heirship. He was a very good honest man, a strict Presbyterian, and kept his sentiments to himself, not wishing to reflect on the conduct of his father. The petition was read and referred to a committee—we knew their sentiments were with us. No thing was said at that time, only a rough honest old Irish member made a very curious speech.—"If I was the Devil himself, (said he) I would vote for that measure, it is so just and reasonable."

When the Committee reported the Bill that had been prepared, after it was read Wm. Lewis rose to make a few remarks before the votes were taken—he made the State House ring, for near two days; it never was so crowded before, and it was thought he had said every thing that could be said and as well as it could be said.

Wm. Findley then rose. He approved of all Wm. Lewis had said;—but on such

an all-important question, where the lives and liberties of so many human beings were at stake, it was worthy a few more remarks; he spoke as much as W. L.—originated new ideas on the pathetic, and drew tears from every eye. After them no other man dare speak, the vote was taken and it was supposed had it not been for Gen. Joseph Heister who was vastly rich, had several farms and had purchased many negroes, it would have been unanimous.—and that very speech continued W. F. the poor Irish weaver, in Congress as long as his age would admit.

I personally knew all the members—they are now all dead but Richard Peters, Judge of the Federal Court, and Joseph Heister Governor of Pennsylvania, both very old—G. Wyncoop behaved very honorable; he said nothing to be a reflection on the conduct of his father, voted for the Bill on every question, went home and quietly manumitted every negro he had. That kept him in the Legislature as long as he was able to serve. If all Legislatures were composed of such men as I have mentioned, slavery would soon go where thee wishes it.

Respectfully,

From another aged member of the same Society, now residing in Kentucky, dated 5th month 27th, 1823.

"A few months back, as I lay on my bed in the night season, I suddenly found myself under much dejection of spirit, in taking a view of the diabolical trade of slavery in all or many of its ramifications; and reflecting on the many ways and means made use of by such a host, may I say, of enemies of all righteousness with the devil at their head, to support this hydra, my heart seemed to recoil; but as I dwelt under the exercise, I had to look back to the days wherein I was personally active in this great and good cause, (when a member of the Abolition Society,) and recollecting how I was protected and carried through three different times in jeopardy of my life; and viewing the great advancement this righteous cause has made in this and other countries since that period, it appeared marvellous in my eyes, and I said in my heart this is the work of God. To use an expression of Warner Miffin, one of the Apostles of Emancipation, in conversation with a slave holder, "the work is on the wheel, and it is as impossible for you (slave holders) to stop it, as it would be for you to dam out the Chesapeake bay." There is much done, but there is still much to do, and I trust thee will be supported by that arm of divine power, whose

fiat Justitia fiat Caelum.

work it is; and I believe his determination is to bring this much injured and greatly degraded people to their just rights, in his own time and for his own praise. Take courage, and thank God, Benjamin, the hills and mountains of difficulty he will cause to skip like lambs and rams. Since reading thy late numbers, and taking a retrospective view of past events, I find my hopes much increased.

A short time since I was desired to come to the door, to view a drove of blacks, viz:—First came a waggon with a number of women and children; next followed two black men, with rifles; then eighteen couple men hand-cuffed wth a large iron chain passed from the first to the last couple, several of whom had a chain passed several times round their bodies and secured to their necks; then followed a black man carrying a flag;* then came thirteen or fourteen couple women, and the rear was brought up by six or eight couple boys and girls. My blood seemed to have an unusual motion, and well might I vociferate; O Tempora! O Mores! There was a creature in the shape of a man, well dressed, rode at the head of the cavalcade, another much like him rode in the rear; I understood they were collected in Virginia and Maryland, the demons appeared to glory in their own shame; they chose to exhibit their diabolical business, by marching through the main street at mid day."

*The traffickers in the souls and bodies of men, seem to take a delight in scandalizing our nation on the soil of Kentucky. This is the second or third time we have heard of the outrageous creatures displaying the Flag of FREEDOM in the midst of gangs of chained and manacled slaves in that State. How long, ye patriotic republicans of our sister State, will you tolerate such disgraceful conduct?—Is it not enough, that the cries of the oppressed are heard within your borders, seeing you make the highest professions of freedom of any people on earth?—Must soulless wretches, that regard neither God nor Man, mock you before your faces, and bring upon you the scorn and derision of neighbouring nations?—Think upon the subject, I beseech you, and reflect.

Gen. Univer. Eman.

UNBLUSHING IMPUDENCE!

The following "toasts" (brown enough, in all conscience!) were given out at a public meeting, a short time since, in the State of Illinois. It is impossible that any but such as are willing to exercise the power of

tyrants, could have the barefaced effrontery to insult a republican people by the expression of such sentiments among them. But I am heartily glad to learn that those would-be nabobs and slave drivers have dared to come out so openly and boldly. It will open the eyes of many a drowsy careless politician. Let it be resounded through every county. It will rouse a spirit of opposition to the convention in the hearts of those who are at ease in their tents, from the village of America to Lake Peoria, and from Alton to the confines of the Wabash river.

Volunteer Toasts.

By Mr. Charles Mullikin—*Our Fathers, that now sleep in their silent tombs, that have stained the soil we inhabit with their blood, in obtaining the rights and liberty we enjoy.*—May their ghosts rise and haunt the sons of liberty, and rouse their spirits to trample under foot that minority who presume to withhold any of those privileges. 3 cheers.

[The spirit of the "sons of liberty" will speedily put down "that minority" in the State of Illinois, which lifts its unhallowed foot to "trample" on the rights of man, or I shall miss a guess.]

By Mr. Abraham Kinney.—May those individuals who are opposed to our cause, before the next election abandon the state of Illinois, and then we will have a free silver circulation, combined with a numerous black population. 3 cheers.

["Free silver circulation!" What an opinion must this creature have of the people of Illinois, to think they are to be taken with such bait as is here made use of! Never did an Athenian or Roman demagogue attempt to cram down the throats of ignorant stupid wretches such miserable stuff as this. Why have they not a "free silver circulation" in Kentucky, and some of the other states, possessed of a "numerous black population"?—Answer me this, Abraham Kinney; or tell the people of Illinois why it is not so.]

By Thomas F. Burgess.—*The state of Illinois.*—The ground is good—prairies in abundance—give us plenty of negroes, a little industry, and she will distribute her treasures. 3 cheers.

By Mr. James Nagle.—*A new Constitution, purely Republican*—which may guarantee to the people of Illinois, the peaceable enjoyment of all species of property.

[Pure republicanism indeed, that claims men and women as property.—TYRANTS VAUNT!]

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

By Mr. Joseph Pogue. *The fair of Illinois*—May the day soon approach when the voters may say, your troubles are over.

[4 cheers.]

[Their troubles will surely be over (over them) when, as John Randolph says it is in Richmond, Virginia—"The night bell never tolls, but the anxious mother presses her infant more closely to her bosom" under the dreadful apprehension that the murderer is at the door.]

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE MODERN LISTENER.

To his Correspondent. No. XIII.

Sir—Having in my 10th No. shewn that the slave party have no ground to stand upon, from the example of Abraham, and in the 11th that the descendants of Canaan, the fourth and youngest son of Ham, never settled in Africa, and that the slave party can give no proof that they were black; of course their holding black people in slavery under cover of Noah's curse against Canaan, is no more justified than the holding of white people in that situation. In the 12th No. it is shown that the 25th Chapter of Leviticus contains no proof in favor of involuntary slavery; and that there is no similitude between the servitude expressed or alluded to in that chapter, and our continental slavery; because that servitude carried with it some equality, and equivalence; for in some of the feasts of the Jews, not only the masters separately, with their sons and daughters, were to rejoice before the Lord, but their servants and handmaids were to do so with them; see Deut. 12th chap. verse 12. Moreover, they might possess property; and a period was pointed to by the Jewish code, for the final termination of their servitude. They also had every opportunity of obtaining useful knowledge; but our continental slavery is directly the reverse; and in this No. I trust I shall show that the slave party have not an argument of a scruple weight to support them in their principle or practice of slavery, from the accomplishment of Noah's prophecy. I consider that all prophecy, as well as that which related to our blessed Saviour, has an end; and if we are pleased to view Noah's curse against Canaan in the light of a prophecy, there is no scripture to prove that we were to wait for its accomplishment until the Portuguese set on foot the nefarious traffic in souls from Africa; nor for the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who was the first sovereign of England who gave a grant to bring the poor negroes from Africa to people some of the British Islands,

(tho' as history informs us, not with an intention to enslave them, and that by the instruction of a good Bishop of her day, was convinced the way and manner her grant was executed was an invasion of the rights of man, incompatible with the religion of the Bible, and every rule of justice and humanity.) Neither need we wait for an accomplishment of that prophecy, (even if we were to grant what never can be proved, that it embraces the Africans) until the baneful traffic was introduced into America by the mother country; and very soon after its introduction, our continent became a great market for souls, and many have said, and perhaps now say, under the mistake, that the prophecy embraced Ham and every branch of his family, that it was or is fulfilled in the Africans becoming slaves to the Americans; for the text says "a servant of servants shall he be," and we, Americans were servants to the British Crown, &c. Yes, we were tributaries to that government, and many vexatious things were imposed upon us, and no redress could we obtain from that government for our grievances. We made an effort, and by the blessing of God, it proved successful. But awful to tell, yet it is a serious truth, that our little finger upon the poor Africans is heavier than ever the loins of the King of England or his whole Parliamentary crew together, was upon us! O may we repent! O may the Saviour of sinners forgive us for his mercies sake! This he can do, and this he will do, if we put away from us the evil of our doings.—But sir, as I have shewn in a former number, that Noah's curse, or prophecy, does not embrace any branch of Ham's family but Canaan, and that none of his descendants as a nation ever inhabited Africa, we must look to some other date than those referred to above, for the accomplishment or end of the 3d. prophecy. If it be essential to view it in the light of a prophecy, it must have an end. And for its accomplishment, I need only refer you to the time of Joshua's invasion of the land of Canaan, at which time that prophecy, began to be and perhaps under his administration, was completely fulfilled; as first, when Joshua, with the elders of Israel, made the Gibeonites, who had deceived them, hewers of wood & drawers of water, to the congregation; & 2d, after the slaughter of the 31 Kings and their subjects, and the rest of the Canaanites became tributaries to the children of Israel. Now Sir, as there is no specific time mentioned in the prophecy, how long the Canaanites should serve the children of Israel, who had been servants to the E-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

gyptians, I must consider the prophecy completely fulfilled in the two instances above; that is to say, it came to pass as Noah foresaw and foretold, that the descendants of Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, would be servants to the descendants of Shem; but the time when this servitude should terminate, it is thought by some not easy to ascertain; but before I give my opinion on the subject, I shall remark that there is not the least analogy or likeness between the above servitude and the slavery tolerated in America. A nation or people under tribute to another nation were said to serve that nation, or were their servants; see 2 Sam. 8th chap. verse 6 and 14, chap. 10 verse 19, 1 Kings chap. 4 verse 21: and as it respects the Gibeonites, I do not consider that they were tributaries in any other sense than the servile, tho' sacred work to which they were doomed by Joshua and the elders of Israel, for their deception. But it does not appear, that the decree or law embraced the females; of course they were at liberty to fill up that station and relation for which Heaven first made them, to be "helpmeets for man". And the Gibeonites for their labour, and in consequence of the oath that was between them and Joshua and the elders, they lived in the possession of their cities and houses, and enjoyed all the social happiness and domestic comforts belonging to the marriage state of free people, and it is moreover certain that the Jews were bound by their contract with that people, to support and protect them in such enjoyments, this appears clear to me from the instance of the Almighty sending three years famine upon the Jews in David's reign, in consequence of the ill treatment the Gibeonites received under the reign of King Saul, who in his hot and misguided zeal, thought to extirpate them from amongst the Hebrews, probably by selling, whipping, and killing them, &c. This case carries a very considerable likeness in it to that of our American slavery. But that nation, with Saul's family, paid very dear for their base and shameful abuse of power. My earnest prayer is, that we, as a nation, may never share the like fate, for we have in a similar way, illy, yea, very illy treated a people who had done us no harm, nor never was, nor never would have been, in our way, if we had let them alone, in their own fertile country. And tho' there is no formal contract existing between them and us, and as we very well know that they were fraudulently and contrary to their will, brought here amongst us, we are bound as republic-

ans, and by every principle of justice, humanity, and religion, to support and protect them in the enjoyment of what is the natural right of every intelligent creature. But you know sir, that the reverse is practised in our states; and however we may boast of our magnanimity, generosity, and christianity, yet this monster of involuntary slavery, stands ready, like Pharaoh's seven lean kine, to eat them all up. And while there is no likeness between the servitude of the Gibeonites and the poor Africans amongst us, to be found in the Book of Numbers, that he ever sanctioned, I hope that who adhere to the principle of slavery will no more resort to that Sacred Book, either for precept or example, to support them in a practice which the Almighty never did nor never will sanction.—To say all I want to say about the Gibeonites and other tributary nations, would perhaps swell this Number beyond the limits of an ordinary letter; therefore, I close this with a promise that in a future Number, you shall hear more about them.

I remain, as ever, yours, &c.

MODERN LISTENER.

Passed the Inspecting Committee of the Manumission Society, 19th May, 1823.

ABM. MARSHILL, *Chm.*

T. DOAN, *Clerk.*

ILLINOIS.

Report of the Committee on the Abrogation of Slavery and Kidnapping Free Negroes; in the House of Representatives, of the State of Illinois.

The committee to whom was referred so much of the Governor's Speech as relates to the kidnapping of free blacks and the total abolition of slavery within this State, beg leave to offer the following report:—

In the investigation of that part of the subject matter referred to your committee relative to the abolition of slavery, your committee find that there are two species of servitude existing in this State; the one comprising the old French slaves, or such as were held by persons residing in the North Western Territory at the period of its cession to the United States by Virginia in 1783, and who, together with their descendants, still continue to be held in absolute bondage; the other, of slaves brought into the Territory subsequent to the Ordinance of Congress of 1787, and indebted to service by the then existing laws of the Territory. Your committee have inquired into the tenure by which both of these classes are thus held to service, with all the anxiety which the delicacy of their situation was cal-

culated to excite, and with the aid of the very partial lights which circumstances have enabled them to obtain. And however unpleasant the result of this inquiry may prove to some of their fellow citizens, and particularly to such as claim a right to this description of property, your committee have felt themselves irresistibly impelled to this result by the strongest convictions of reason, humanity and justice.

In inquiring into the tenure by which the slaves of the old French settlers are pretended to be held, your committee had recourse in the first place to the ordinance of Congress, passed 13th July, 1787, and which is justly considered in the light of a compact between the United States and the people of the North Western Territory. On a strict examination of this very important instrument, your committee have not been able to discover any thing favorable to these claims. On the contrary, the sixth article thereof expressly declares, that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory" (meaning the country now west of the Ohio river) "otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." Here then we find a solemn prohibition pronounced by the very highest authority against the holding of that species of property called a *slave*. Words of stronger import to inhibit the very existence of slavery, it is not in the power of human language to present. It is in vain to refer to the cession by Virginia in 1783 to establish the validity of these claims. This instrument says nothing upon the subject; for your committee are clear in their opinion, that the words *titles, possessions, rights and liberties*, as used in that instrument, were never intended by Virginia to guarantee the possession of slaves. That Congress did not so consider them is evident from the words of the sixth article of the ordinance, as above recited: if it had done so, a suitable reservation as to the slaves then in the Territory would unquestionably be found therein.—That Virginia did not so consider them, is equally apparent from a perusal of the act passed by her, 30th December, 1788. This act recognizes the ordinance of July, 1787, calls it expressly a *compact* between the people of the original States in the North-western Territory, and ratifies an alteration made by it to that part of the cession which related to the formation of new States in the ceded Territory. The sixth article of this ordinance was too conspicuous to escape their attention, and too plain in its lan-

guage to be misunderstood. "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory." Could the effect of these words be misconceived by Virginia?—certainly not. They annihilated at once the very existence of such property as a *slave*. Did Virginia remonstrate?—Did the holders of slaves in the Territory remonstrate?—Not one word was ever heard from either party upon the subject. The original States, including Virginia herself and the inhabitants of the ceded Territory all seem so have acquiesced in the compact. Your committee therefore feel themselves irresistibly compelled to say, that the sixth article of the ordinance thenceforth became the supreme law of the land, and consequently, that slavery or involuntary servitude in any shape or under any tenure, "otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted," ought not of right be longer tolerated in this State. And your committee are happy to announce, in further support and confirmation of this conclusion, that by a late judicial decision of the Supreme Court of Indiana this doctrine has been in that State fully maintained and established. *(To be Continued.)*

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Communicated for publication.

Of the special meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, held in the City Hall, Washington, on Monday, the second of June, a more particular account ought to be given, and is now attempted. *Wash. Pap.*

Several religious associations and the Auxiliary Societies had been previously invited to take part in the deliberations of the Board. In addition to the ordinary members of the Board, there were present the Hon. *William H. Crawford*, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, *Rev. Luther Rice*, and *Rev. P. Chuse*, from the General Convention of the Baptist Church; *Mr. Leonard Bacon* and *Mr. Solomon Peck*, from the Society of Inquiry concerning Missions at the Theological Seminary, Andover; *Mr. Joseph Gales*, Secretary of the Raleigh Auxiliary Society, and *Mr. Searle*, from the Society of Inquiry at the Theological Institution, Princeton. *Mr. Crawford* presided.

Mr. Caldwell, the Secretary of the Society, presented the resolutions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, adopted in consequence of an address from the Committee appointed to invite that

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Association to send Delegates to this Meeting.—These resolutions have been already published.

Mr. Bacon made an interesting statement of the opinions of the Northern People in relation to the Colonization Society, and suggested to the Board several subjects for consideration.

After considerable discussion, Mr. Gales, Jr. offered a resolution to this effect: That, Committees be appointed to consider—1st, The state of the Colony, and the means of improving it; 2dly, The finances of the Association and the means of increasing its income and regulating its expenditures; 3dly, Whether any, and if any, what, alterations are necessary, in the immediate management of the affairs of the Society. The Board then adjourned to meet again on Wednesday at 10 o'clock.

The Board were gratified, on Wednesday, not only with the attendance of Mr. Crawford, but also with that of the Hon. Charles F. Mercer, and William H. Fitzhugh, Esq. of Virginia, both Vice Presidents of the Society.

The Reports of the several committees were then read, after some animated debate, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That additional agents be appointed, to visit different parts of the United States, to diffuse information, to collect funds, and to form auxiliary societies.

2. *Resolved*, That a periodical publication be established, under the direction of the Board of Managers and their agent, for the purpose of diffusing correct information concerning the progress of the Society and the situation of the Colony; provided that a subscription adequate to defray the expense of said publication shall have been previously obtained.

3. *Resolved*, That an address be prepared for general circulation, to exhibit to the public the present situation and wants of the Society.

4. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to send to the Colony, this season, three or more vessels, to be fitted out from the Northern, Middle, and Southern sections of the United States.

5. *Resolved, unanimously*, That the Board duly appreciate the zeal and interest taken in the affairs of this Society by the different religious denominations who have sent delegates to this meeting.

Some other resolutions were offered by Mr. Fitzhugh.

Their great importance induced the Board

to defer a decision upon them, as well as upon a part of the reports of their committees; to a future meeting.

The object of the Colonization Society is evidently becoming more popular. We venture to predict that soon no Institution in the country will receive a more liberal and extensive support. Whenever its design is understood, every man must be its friend.

From the Edwardsville Spectator.

HISTORY OF RACHAEL,

A FREE WOMAN OF COLOR.

She came to this country in or about 1804, and contracted as a free woman to serve Joseph Cornelius, of St. Clair, for fifteen years. Though she is acknowledged of record as free, her children, I believe eight in number, some of whom were born since she came to the country, have been held as slaves or servants, with the exception of one on her breast—tho' Rachael, by her own industry, raised to the present time, five of them. To give a history of the various attempts made to enslave them, and send them to Orleans, by open violence, by secret stratagem, and by WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS! would consume too much time; but if necessary, it MAY HEREAFTER be given to the public. She brought with her an infant boy to the country, and he has remained here until last fall, and yet, amazing to tell, he is claimed as a slave or servant! This boy was taken in day-light, on the public square in Belleville. He was thrown into a Dearborn, and before the people could collect to rescue him, he was driven off out of their reach, and lodged at the Sodom of the state, viz. the town of Illinois. Ben, however, miraculously escaped, and says they intended him for the Orleans market!! There have been repeated open attempts to take Ben since, and so insecure was his situation here, (for the laws and officers of the country either could not or would not protect him) that he had to seek safety by flight to another state. She had a fine boy of the name of Perry, that she raised herself; and her house in Belleville was forced in the night, last fall, in search of Ben. They could not find Ben, but they took Perry, and poor boy, he is now, no doubt, about Orleans, a slave for life!!

Since then, these vile robbers of human liberty, have kidnapped all Rachael's children, Ben and the infant on the breast excepted!! They have several

Piat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

times taken her husband, to send him below, but he has miraculously escaped, and been rescued from them. A few days since, as she passed the town of St. Louis, it is alleged, there was an attempt made to kidnap her and her infant child; and it is believed she dare not return to Belleville, unless she have a guard.

Such is the state of our society, and such is the daring villany that with brazen front stalks through the land. O when shall it be annihilated! Poor unfortunate Rachael is left to mourn her intolerable loss. "Rachael is weeping for her children, and will not be comforted, because they are not."

EQUAL RIGHTS.**EXTRACT.**

How deeply implanted in every liberal Englishman's heart must be the desire to abolish slavery, when we find the following sentiments applauded, nightly, at the British Theatres, by admiring multitudes!

"Every slave should be as free as the air he breathes.—

For while *Liberty* is the glory of our country,

Let us cease to make a traffic of our fellow beings."

"STOLEN GOODS."

A negro in Jamaica was tried for theft, and ordered to be flogged. He begged to be heard; which being granted, he asked "If white man buy stolen goods, why he no be flogged too?"—"Well," said the judge, "so he would." "Dere den," replied Mungo, "is my massa, he buy *stolen goods*; he knew me stolen, and yet he buy me."

AUSPICIOUS OCCURRENCE.

Two new Branches of the *Manumission Society of Tennessee* have been lately organized in this County.—*Ed. G. U. Z.*

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SOUL PEDLARS GOING TO MARKET
WITH THEIR HUMAN PLUNDER.

What object is meeting my eye?

What sound is saluting my ear?

A tragical sight I espy,

The language of sorrow I hear!

Remote on the beaten highway,

A dark colour'd group I behold—

A horrible sight to survey;

Sad victims of avarice and gold.

They move in procession along,

With chains, and with fetters confin'd,

A heart broken sorrowful throng,

All wishfully looking behind.

Here husbands from wives have been sold—

Here wives from their husbands were torn;

Here, the young, middle ag'd, & the old,

Are off to strange countries borne:—

Each of the poor victims have left

A wife, or a husband, behind,

Or parents of children bereft,

Enduring a tortured mind!

Quite hopeless of seeing their friends

And relatives, left in distress;—

No hope that their sorrows will end,

Till death shall afford them redress.

Long partners in fetters and wo,

In travel, in sorrow, and pain,

At the market to which they must go,

They there will be parted again;

American Arabs will buy,

What pleases their fancies the best,

Nor care for the conjugal tie,

Or throes of a sorrowful breast!

The tyrants thus causing their pain,

Are driving, and urging them on,

The prospect of grandeur and gain,

Has harden'd their hearts into stone—

That they to great splendor may rise,

Seduced by the demons below)

They're deaf to humanity's cries,

And dead to the feelings of woe!

Ye daughters of freedom, draw near;

Let sympathy soften each heart,

And help, with a plentiful tear,

The balm of redress to impart,—

Ye delicate mothers, behold!

And plead for the suffering throng;

Your eloquence for them unfold,

And plead with your tears & your tongue;—

If you and your children, like they,

Were barter'd, like cattle, for slaves,

For help, to free mothers, you'd pray,

You from your afflictions to save.

VALLEY WARBLER.

PUBLISHED EVERY OTHER WEEK.

TERMS.—One dollar per annum, in advance, or one dollar and fifty cents, before the expiration of the year, for single subscriptions—Ten dollars per dozen copies, for companies.

Complete files may be had from the beginning.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 3. Vol. III.

EIGHTH MONTH, 1st, 1823.

WHOLE No. 31.

MY OWN CONCERNS.

As the circulation of this paper is pretty extensive in many places at a great distance, it is not to be expected, in the nature of things, that all can be waited on with their bills; and as money is absolutely necessary to keep the press a going, it is hoped that the friends of the work, and all who have seen proper to patronize it, will remit the several sums due from them, respectively, either to the editor or his agents, without delay. William Lewis, of Mount Pleasant, Ohio, acts as general agent for that State, Indiana, and the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Individuals and special agents for particular neighborhoods, in that section of country, will please to forward the amount of what they may have in their hands to him, unless otherwise particularly directed. A list of agents in different parts of the United States will be found on the last page of this Number.

A very erroneous idea prevails with some, in regard to the manner in which this work is upheld and supported. Many are of the opinion that it is a Society concern. But it has been stated before, and I now repeat, that no association of people whatever contributes to it, in that capacity, or holds any share in its establishment—neither has any individual besides myself, the least control or management of it in any shape. And it may further be observed that my own means are too limited to carry it on without prompt payment from those who patronize it. A considerable portion of the subscribers have paid very punctually in advance, while there are many others who have received the paper from its commencement and have yet forwarded nothing for the second year, and some not even for the first. The paper has a very respectable support, in regard to the number of patrons—if it falls it will be thro' neglect of the one thing needful in matters of business, that is, promptness in discharging the pecuniary part of their duty. The friends of the work are requested to think of these things.—And seeing there is so much difficulty in making collections over such an immense extent of country as a work of this kind may be expected to circulate, they are respectfully urged to use

their exertions in procuring additional subscribers, who will cheerfully comply with the requisite terms. It is further to be observed, that if any good is likely to result from its establishment (of which I have the most sanguine hopes) it must be by a very general circulation.—It is not here as it is in England, where a few of the dignitaries of Church or State can do every thing, and where nothing is wanting to insure the success of an important public measure but the conversion of some particular individuals of these classes. In this country, the people are the only legitimate sovereigns, and they must be convinced of its propriety before such measure can be carried into effect.

FREE OR SLAVE LABOUR.

I have received an excellent communication on the subject of the comparative value of the labor of free men and that of slaves. It is from the pen of one of the most intelligent, industrious and enterprising men in this section of country, and cannot fail to attract the attention of those who may have an opportunity of seeing it. I had collected materials for an article on that subject myself, but owing to the multiplicity of other avocations, it has been kept back; and I shall now give place to my correspondent, believing him to be much more competent to the task. The essay of my friend will very shortly be attended to;—And we will see if a proper view of interest, (as it must soon begin to operate) will not move such as justice, mercy, honor, or consistency of principle and practice, has no effect upon.

NEW BRANCHES.

In the last Number of this work it was stated that two new Branches of the Manumission Society had been lately formed in this State. I have now the pleasure to add, that four or five more have been organized within a few months. This is truly good news. The number of members are rapidly increasing in the different counties, and in some of them a great deal of zeal is manifested towards encouraging the spirit of Universal Liberty. I have been creditably informed that in two or three places where the mass of the people had so steady

ly and violently opposed that association that few among them were willing to avow themselves its advocates, the light of reason and justice has forced its way into the dark recesses of their minds, and is beginning to dispel the cloud of prejudice that surrounds them.

Several applications have recently been made for copies of the Constitution of the Society for the purpose of endeavouring to organize new branches in places very remote from any at present existing. This augurs well. Let the advocates of freedom take courage. Activity, energy and decision will do every thing. Let the arguments, the warnings, the prayers and exhortations of the aged not be withheld.—Let the animated voice of youth, be engaged in delineating the beauties of freedom, and the odious injustice, as well as the awful retribution awaiting the nation that tolerates slavery; and even let the prattling tongue of infancy be taught to lisp the accents of liberty, that an adherence to the principles of freedom and justice may become natural, and be manifest when it shall be exercised in the discussion of subjects relating to the public weal.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO THE EDITOR.

The Genius of liberty is abroad in the world, & the thrones of tyrants tremble at her approach. Hail her coronation, ye sons and daughters of philanthropy, and lend your aid in her Universal establishment on the earth.

The celestial Goddess, hated by the votaries of oppression, strikes terror to the despot, and in his indignation he meditates vengeance on her children, and musters his forces to repel her march. From the crowned Emperor, and King, the tripple crowned pontiff, with his delegated minions, down to the petty nabob, who sways his iron sceptre over from one to a dozen menial slaves, an utter opposition to the reign of freedom on earth prevails, and the suppression of her promotion, is the theme of their councils.

The thrones of despots, founded on the black pillars of oppression & injustice, shrink from the touch of investigation; and whenever an attempt is made to call in question their usurpations, by vindicating the rights of men, every one, from the highest to the lowest, raises the hue and cry of anarchy, rebellion, and insurrection, against the pretended insurgents for their temerity, in thus touching the ark of their monarchical prerogatives.

Hence, in those Empires and Kingdoms where attempts are made at a reform in the public administrations of state, the cry of rebellion and anarchy, is reverberated by the usurpers of unlimited power, and every exertion is put in operation for suppressing the opposing party, & for propping up their tottering thrones. When the corruptions of pontiffs, prelates, and priests, are inquired into by men of piety and uprightness, it alarms the sons of imposture, and disturbs the seat of Antichrist, and hence the epithets, infidels, heretics, schismatics, and troublers of the peace of "the church of Christ," are liberally bestowed on all who dare meddle in matters belonging to their reverend dominions. So also, by such of the slave holders of America as are in the spirit of that system, the most bitter reflections are thrown out, and the most ungentlemanly and Billingsgate language is used, by some of them, against such as publicly plead the cause of the oppressed; representing them as enemies to government, fomenters of insurrections, and promoters of uneasiness and idleness amongst their slaves. But it is not a spirit of rebellion and anarchy that is investigating the long established doctrine of the rights of king craft; it is not a spirit of infidelity, heresy, or of schism in the true church of Christ, that excites men of pity to attack the brazen front of priest craft;—Nor is it a spirit of opposition to government, of excitement to insurrection, or idleness and uneasiness amongst the slaves, if they are more so now than formerly, but it is the inspiring spirit or *Genius of liberty* that is thus moving and operating on the minds of those who have been oppress'd in these several cases, and also upon those who wish to be governed by a religion that produces in its subjects, the fruits of genuine piety, justice, philanthropy, and fellow feeling.

It is the *Genius of liberty* spreading among the people in Europe, that so terrifies the ruling despots of those countries, that their vigilance is stretched to its utmost extent, to guard against attacks on their thrones, by punishing in some way or other, every one that dares to hold out a taper of political light within the murky walls of their dark dominions. It is the same luminous orb, that has been exciting the long and sorely oppressed people of Spain to throw off the shackles of kingly and priestly tyranny, that has aroused the indignation of his Gallic majesty to such a degree, especially, as a government founded on the rights of man, was like to be permanently established in that country, that he proclaimed war against her, and has sent his legions of

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

blood thirsty priests and others, to butcher the sons of freedom who were just emerging from the chastic gloom of tyrannical domination, that by an entire suppression of their reason bestowed freedom, he may re-establish the old despotism, and the reign of priestcraft.

No man was ever made to be the subject of oppression or involuntary servitude,—this would be contrary to the constitution and design of his being; and if men who are suffering under any kind of oppression, are uneasy and restless, they are not stimulated to it by any lawless, or improper agent, but it is the "*God within them stirs,*" and moves the human soul to struggle for its right; and if more so now than heretofore, it is because the *Genius of liberty* is abroad in the world, testifying that the iniquity of tyrants of every grade, is full, and that their dissolution is about to be accomplished.

As well may light and darkness be blended in one mass, as for oppression and freedom to be reconciled together—in the proportion that the one prevails, the other must recede. The analogy betwixt the principles of the monarchs of Europe, and those of the sentimental slave holders of America, is so striking, that the shadow of a difference cannot be discovered—both are monarchical, and that too, of the most absolute kind; and without controversy, it is that despotic spirit of opposition to the *Genius of liberty*, which stimulates the tyrants of Europe to contend with every attempt at freedom, that excites the nabobs of our country to discountenance every human exertion for the legal, and gradual emancipation of the African slaves that are amongst us; and that draws out their bitterest gall against every institution, and publication, designed by the humane, for promoting the spirit and practice of genuine republican freedom. It is the same spirit of monarchical domination that moves some men to use arguments, with design to prevail on the philanthropist to suppress his institutions, and publications, for promoting the cause of freedom, knowing they are subversive of monarchical motives; and the better to succeed, they gild their opposition to liberty, with a seeming plausibility, by acknowledging the evils of slavery, but reject the right of human agency to any participation in its removal. Thus it is, the votaries of oppression, stimulated by pride, avarice, and a thirst for unlimited power, have ever been hostile to the goddess of freedom, from the days of Father Adam to the present enlightened epoch.

But notwithstanding the violent hostility

of Emperors, Kings, priests, and petty nabobs, to freedom and the Universal rights of man; may not the christian, and the philanthropist, look forward, with pleasing emotion, to no very distant period of time, at the final dissolution of tyranny, and the universal spread, reign, and establishment in the world of the *Genius of liberty*?

PHILO HUMANITAS.

CIRCULAR.

Shelbyville, Ky. Feb. 4, 1823.

HIGHLY ESTEEMED THO' UNKNOWN FRIEND,

I am directed, by the Ky. Abolition Society, to address the several kindred Associations in the United States, on the great subject of our mutual efforts. As I am ignorant of the names of your officers, permit me through you, to address your respected society.

BRETHREN, the degraded and oppressed condition of *two millions* of our fellow creatures, calls not only for the sympathy and commiseration, but for the united, zealous and preserving efforts of all the friends of humanity. That the African is degraded and oppressed in every part of the Union, is a fact too obvious to need proof. Robbed of his natural rights, and converted into property under the sanction of a constitution which is exultingly founded on the "self-evident truths that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," among which, "are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—Denied the advantages of civil society, and refused a reciprocity in the exercise of those tender charities which sooth the afflictions and sweeten the enjoyment of the present life, while too frequently every avenue is closed against him which leads to the felicities of the life to come.

And why this degradation? Is he not a brother—a member of the same family, and entitled to a participation in all the bounties of a common Parent? Had he voluntarily migrated from his own country, and obtruded himself upon us, contrary to our wishes, we might with some plausibility have denied him the rights of hospitality. Had he attempted forcibly to invade our rights and to wrest from us our liberties, we should have had some pretext for inflicting on him those evils which he intended to impose on us. But with what infamy does his degradation brand our character, when it is recollected that we have violently torn him from his beloved country, and from all that the heart holds dear, for the base purpose of enriching ourselves at the expense

of his labour and toil and sweat and blood !

It is doubtless cause for the most sincere gratitude to the Father of Mercies, that he has succeeded the unwaried efforts of the friends of humanity in putting a stop to this most infamous traffic in the bodies and "souls of men." The Philanthropist also rejoices that in many of the United States the yoke of involuntary and perpetual bondage has been broken and the oppressed set free.—Yet much remains to be done ere we shall have "discharged the long arrears due to the sable sons of Africa." We have corrupted their morals, degraded their character and stupified their intellectual powers by that unhallowed system which denies them all the advantages of education, and consigns them ignorant and stupid to the domination of every unholy passion and appetite.—And shall we now plead their degradation as an apology for shutting against them the bowels of mercy, and refusing to extend to them the sympathies of our common nature ! O unparalleled cruelty ! No, let us regard their ignorance, their degradation and their wretchedness as so many incentives to vigorous and persevering attempts to enlighten their minds, amend their hearts, and thus qualify them for the duties and enjoyments of intelligent beings.

This we apprehend can be done in no way but by putting into their hands the Book of God, and by teaching them to read and to understand it. It is this that has taught us the dignity of our nature—it is this that has softened down the asperities of savage man and qualified him for the enjoyment of the refined pleasures of civil and religious society, and it is this that is ultimately to "make him meet to become a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light." Who then can withhold it from a fellow-traveller to eternity ?

We rejoice brethren, in the belief that these are truths that are felt and acknowledged by you—that you have done much in this great cause of humanity, and that with a firm and steady step you are marching forward intent on accomplishing what still remains to be done. We would just say

"Persist ye—veterans ! for the cause
In which your hallowed banner is unfurled
Embraces all that makes existence dear.
Undaunted band of Christian Patriots hail !
May victory's bays your honor'd temples crown,

And your reward be those delights supreme
Which store the magazines of heavenly bliss."

The object of this address, brethren, is not to instruct but to encourage you in your work of philanthropy, and at the same time to enlist your sympathies in behalf of our society, which is struggling for existence amid the reproaches and persecutions of an overwhelming multitude. We need your advice—we need your prayers. Could no kind of connection be formed between the several Manumission and Abolition Societies in the United States by which their efforts and their energies might be united in a systematic plan of operation ?

The Kentucky Abolition Society was organized in 1808, but may be regarded as still in its infancy. It consists at present of four branches, viz: Maysville, Mount Sterling, Concord and Shelbyville. The whole number of members amount to something upwards of 100. But what are these compared with 434,644, the entire free population of the state—the mass on which they have to operate—the multitude with which they have to contend ! To the eye of sense they appear indeed like the *forlorn hope* in a desperate enterprize. Yet we would not be discouraged. Truth is omnipotent. The Genius of Universal Emancipation is abroad in the earth, and will prevail. The "leaven" has been "hid"—the process of fermentation has already commenced, and it will be gradually and imperceptibly carried on until "the whole lump is leavened."

Our work we believe, however, might be facilitated, and the consummation of our great object hastened, by an interchange of feelings and opinions among those engaged in it. This we deem very desirable, especially so far as an exchange of all printed documents.

Have the goodness to favour us with your correspondence.

With sentiments of the highest respect, yours most affectionately, in the bands of Philanthropy.

JOHN F. CROW, *Cor. Sec. K. A. S.*

ILLINOIS.

Report of the Committee on the Abrogation of Slavery and kidnapping Free Negroes, in the House of Representatives, of the State of Illinois.

(CONTINUED.)

In the further investigation of the subject submitted to their consideration, and in reference to the other species of servitude as is introduced and still existing by indenture, your committee have vainly sought in the audience of 1787 for the authority of the Governor and Council, or of

the Territorial Legislature, to enact such laws as would justify the making of such indentures. Your committee conscientiously believe that these enactments are in direct violation of the sixth article of the ordinance, and were intended to operate in no other way than as an evasion of that article. Your committee are well aware that a consideration for the obligation to service as set forth in these indentures, is supposed to have been given by the master. But what was this consideration? Was it a moral obligation to service?—No—the idea of such an obligation is as forced as it is unnatural. There can be no such thing as a moral obligation in one man to bind himself in servitude to another. The idea is too absurd to require argument to refute it.—Was there then a legal obligation operating upon the party thus binding himself to service?—Your committee cannot think so. A reference to the acts authorising these indentures and the practice under them will prove the very reverse. If the position assumed by your committee, in the former part of their report, be correct, that the 6th article of the ordinance became a part of the supreme law of the land, then it follows irresistibly that slaves subsequently brought into this Territory by persons intending to make it their future residence became, by this very act, free—free as the winds of heaven—the ignominious shackles which bound them in subjection to the will of a master, fell at once from their limbs—they breathed that air in which the supreme power had decreed that slavery or involuntary servitude should not exist. If upon the common law principle, that *liberty depends not upon the complexion*, Lord Mansfield, one of the greatest judges that ever dignified a British bench, in the celebrated case of the negro Somerset, decided in 1772, felt himself compelled to discharge the slave from the service of his master, far stronger must be upon us the operation of *written law* in forcing us to the same result. Upon what principle then could the former master of slaves brought into the Territory, claim a continuation of their service?—It is true that the Territorial law gave to the master a right to take his slave out of the Territory, within a certain number of days, if the slave would not consent to enter into an indenture for further service. And previous to this taking place, the law rendered it necessary that the master should manumit his slave, in order that the indenture might seem to have been entered into by him when in a state of perfect

freedom. But your committee look upon this part of the enactment as a perfect fallacy—for he who was once a slave was already free—free from the very instant the master evinced his determination of becoming a resident of the Territory, if not indeed from the very moment the slave was made to set his foot upon the shore.

But supposing the ceremony of emancipation and the subsequent indenture to have been gone through with all the form prescribed by the Territorial laws, your committee cannot conceive such an agreement to be binding. Your committee are not skilled in the difficult and abstruse science of the municipal law; but they have always understood, and believed it to be a well established principle of this science, that every promise, of whatever kind or nature, must be preceded or accompanied by a *legal consideration*. Your committee would vainly endeavour to persuade themselves of the existence of such a consideration in these indentures; and they can consider the whole system as nothing less than an illegal and unjustifiable attempt to evade the provisions of the ordinance. Your committee are aware that the sixth article of your State constitution was intended by its framers to give efficiency to these indentures. But if the reasoning of your committee has been just, these indentures were void at their very inception. And it was utterly impossible for any subsequent law or constitutional provision to communicate to them the least force or validity.

Your committee are happy to be relieved from the consideration of that part of the subject matter referred to them, which relates to the extension of the rights of suffrage to free blacks, the constitution of our State having limited that right to *free white males* of a certain age, and possessing certain qualifications.

(Concluded in next Number.)

From the Liverpool Mercury.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

We most readily withdraw a portion of our own commentary to secure the insertion of the following petition from a respectable body of practical Christians, very properly designated the Society of Friends. It is with pleasure that we add, we always find this useful class of Christians amongst the foremost to promote every plan which has for its object the good of their fellow creatures.

To the commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament

First Justitia Huat Uelium.

assembled—the respectful Petition of the undersigned, representing the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, in Great Britain and Ireland—sheweth:—

That your petitioners have observed, with great satisfaction, the firmness and perseverance with which, from year to year, the parliament of the united kingdom has advocated the cause of the oppressed Africans. They have rejoiced in the belief that the iniquity and cruelty of the slave trade continues to be felt and acknowledged by their own countryman, whilst they have observed with deep regret, the want of an effectual co-operation on the part of the other powers of Europe.

Your petitioners, however, consider, that whilst no legal provisor is made for the gradual termination of slavery within the British dominions, the character of their country cannot be exonerated from the charge of injustice. At the last yearly meeting of the religious society which they represent, there prevailed a deep feeling for those who are still held as slaves, accompanied by a firm conviction that this practice is in direct contradiction to the merciful spirit of the gospel, and to the precepts of its divine founder. And your petitioners are impressed with a belief that the time is arrived when it is their duty thus publicly to express the feelings of their brethren in religious profession, in pleading the cause of their fellow subjects who are deprived of the invaluable blessing of freedom.

They, therefore, respectfully entreat your early and close attention to the situation of hundreds of thousands of human beings now held in bondage in the British colonies. Regarding them as their brethren and sisters by creation, and as fellow objects of redemption by Christ, they earnestly beseech that no longer delay may take place in considering the best means by which they may gradually be brought into the enjoyment of that liberty to which, as men, they are justly entitled, and raised from that degraded condition in which every man is placed who is reduced to the state of slavery.

Your petitioners do not presume to suggest to parliament the way in which this desirable object may be accomplished. They are aware that great wisdom and prudence will be requisite in so providing for the gradual extinction of slavery, as that the slaves may ultimately come into possession of liberty in the way which shall render it most beneficial to themselves, and afford the greatest security to the colonial proprietors and to the state.

Entertaining, however, an unshaken be-

lief that the religion which the author of our salvation has introduced, would, if universally acted upon, ensure the present and eternal happiness of the human race, your petitioners are anxious that all your deliberations & decisions may be founded on the firm and immutable basis of christian principles; they are deeply solicitous that, by publicly recognizing the precepts of righteousness and truth as of paramount obligation, the British government may more and more commend the christian religion in the sight of the nations of the earth; and they reverently believe that the blessing and protecting providence of the Most High will be continued to their beloved country.

Signed by us, members of the meeting for conducting the affairs of the said society in the intervals of the yearly meeting.

London, the 7th of the 2d month, 1823.

[Here follow the names.]

From the New-York Statesman.

"BEAUTIES OF SLAVERY."

In a letter from a friend at Norfolk, Va. we have the following statement:

"A black freeman in this town, named America Walker, sold his own son, a man grown (whose freedom he had purchased several years since) to a slave trader a few days ago for \$375, on the condition that he should be sent to New-Orleans, and he was put on board of a vessel for the purpose. The father has kept him in jail some time, until an opportunity offered to dispose of him, and treated him in every respect as is customary for *slave traders*, who have such kind of *property* on hand. A gentleman belonging here, shocked at the idea of so abominable an outrage, purchased the fellow back for a small advance on the sum obtained by the father, and now holds him as his own."

At the first glance this incident might be thought an evidence in favor of keeping the African race in slavery; for who that could sell his own son, would deserve the sympathy of the public? But we must view this occurrence in a different light. Even the brutes regard their own offspring with watchful care, and often with the most tender solicitude.—How ought we then to lament the prevalence of a system among us, whose effects are so powerful in hardening the heart, & blunting and destroying the finer feelings of human nature, as that even

—A father's bosom

Throbs not with sympathy and fond alarm!

*Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.***HORRORS OF SLAVERY.**

Great alarm prevails in the neighborhood of Norfolk, (Va.) in consequence of the frequent murders of their most valuable citizens, committed by runaway negroes, who lurk about in swamps and thickets, and sallied forth in the night-time in quest of plunder and revenge. The last victim of savage fury was capt. John W. Hayes, of Princes Ann county, near Black Water Bridge. While eating his supper with his family, a gun was discharged through the window, and its contents penetrated his breast, and he fell, dangerously wounded, probably to rise no more. Capt. H. was about to remove to Tennessee, and the person from whom he received the wound is supposed to be one of several of his own negroes, who, reluctant to accompany him to Tennessee, ran away, and took this horrid means of accomplishing his wishes. The Beacon, of Saturday last, says a detachment of 200 men from the regiment commanded by col. Arthur Lee (cavalry and infantry) have been ordered to rendezvous this day at the Great Bridge, and proceed to scour that part of the country in which these out-lying negroes are secreted.

The Herald of Monday says, two negro men have been apprehended at the Great Bridge, upon strong suspicion of being the perpetrators of the murder of William Walker, at that place, on the 5th inst. and committed to Norfolk county jail. A negro woman, believed to have some knowledge of that horrid transaction, has also been committed for examination. One of the men, on whom the strongest suspicion rests, was a hired servant in the employment of Mr. Walker, but had eloped a week or two before the murder, in consequence of a slight chastisement.—*N. Y. Spectator, May 22.*

BRUTALITY.*From the Alexandria (Va.) Gazette.*

A FRAGMENT.

**** The little Ethiopian was only two years old; she was sitting on the threshold of the door which looks into the garden—sweeping bitterly, and calling for her mother—This tender name awoke all my sensibility, and rivetted me to the spot; for I, too, have had a child, and know the poignancy of its woes when separated, as it thought, forever, from its parent!

‘Where is thy mother, my little child,’ said I; when a low voice behind me replied, ‘She is here; but I am as near my daughter as I am allowed to go. She is sold away from me, for I am a slave;

see, it is tied with a string to keep it from running back again. It is too young to take away; it weeps and calls for me all the time! Oh! I have prayed earnestly to hate my child for then I might have peace! Now, all day I am thinking of my infant, and all night I am dreaming of her;—my heart is breaking fast!’

Here the young captive had caught the sound of its mother’s voice, and ran towards her, holding out its little hands, till the badge of its captivity straitened, and brought it to the ground. ‘Out upon it,’ cried I, (for I had lost all my prudence, in the fervency of my pity and resentment) ‘and cursed in his basket and in his store, be every one who causes such tears as these—for he will not easily wash his hands of it at the last day!’

Slavery in the West Indies.—In consequence of the proceedings which have taken place in the British House of Commons, relative to the emancipation of the slave population in the W. Indies, strong remonstrances have been forwarded to Parliament by the Houses of Assembly in the different Islands against the measure, which is represented as fraught with incalculable mischief against the mother country, and of ruin to the whole population in the Colonies. The white inhabitants are afraid that their sons and daughters will have to degrade themselves by common labor. *W. Herald.*

CONSISTENCY OF H. CLAY.*From the Independent Press.*

The editor of the “*Frankfort Commonwealth*” says that Mr. Clay was a republican in 1798, in 1812, and is at this time, and that he has never apostatized from the principles he possessed in his youth.

Now, it appears when the constitution of Kentucky was formed, among other points of great interest, one was, the introduction of slavery. It is said Mr. Clay was then one of the strongest opposers of the Slave system—that he exerted himself in opposition to the existence of slavery in Kentucky. When Missouri was admitted into the Union, the existence of slavery was again a subject strongly agitated, and Mr. Clay was one of the most ardent supporters of the Slave System.

I do not know how the Editor of the Commentator may view this subject, but it looks like a gross departure from the principles of younger days, though I suppose Mr. Clay, when he opposed the introduction of slaves

into Kentucky, had no interest in the question, being then probably, too poor to own them; but at the period of the Missouri Question, the times were changed—Mr. Clay then was able, and did in fact own and keep slaves; and his speeches on the Missouri Question are as feelingly alive on the business as might be expected from any person who was in the habit of acting in reference to where his own private interests and personal aggrandizement were at stake.

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

THE VOICE OF THE WATERS.

No slumber wrapped—no dream beguil'd—
But midnight hush'd the cares of day,
When Fancy, reason's sportive child,
To Western regions led the way.
Soon from the Hudson's busy strand
The gentle rover I pursued,
Till, stay'd my step at her command,
By Mississippi's bank I stood.
Twas then I trod a land of slaves—
The zephyrs moan'd—the waters roll'd—
And whispering winds, and weltering waves,
All, all, the tale of sorrow told.
From Eastern springs Ohio came,
To meet the monarch of the West;
When thus, with words of grief and shame,
The Prince of Rivers he address'd.
"Ah! Sire of Floods, thy noble tide
"Burst from its fountains in a wild—
"And onward flowing deep and wide,
"Met Freedom's eye—and sweetly smil'd:
"Now, on thy banks Oppression reigns—
"And our commingling currents lave
"A shore, where, bowed by grief and chains,
"Sighs Mis'ry's saddest son—the Slave."
"A slave"—the strange, the hateful word,
The sounding waters mattered o'er—
The princely stream had never heard
Other than Freeman's name before.
Dark seem'd the counsels of the waves,
As high their hollow murmur rose—
So groans the tempest as it raves;
So earth, when hostile squadrons close.
Then did the infant billows burst,
Vindictive on the savage shore—
'Twas meet their ire should thus be nurs'd,
E'er while in Ocean's ranks to roar.
Hark! from Missouri's tainted soil,
I hear th' appalling voice of blood;
As from amidst its tatter'd toil,
And reeking stripes, it cries to God!

O! rned forever be the day*

When, e'en in Freedom's sacred fane,
Her thankless son arose to say,
"Go, bind the wilderness in chains."
Swift to the deep the waters hie,
The edict dread to publish there—
While Heaven's four winds responsive sigh.
And on their wings the tidings bear.
From Eastern thus to Western Ind,
Resounds the clarion shrill of Fame—
She walks the waves—she rides the wind,
My country—to announce thy shame.
Wide as the world thy guilt shall be;
For mingled with the ocean flood,
Shall every wave of every sea.
Be tinctured with accusing blood. M.

*On the 6th of March 1820, the Missouri Bill passed the Congress of the United States without any provision for the restriction of Slavery.

ACTING AGENTS

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Rev. Noah Worcester—*Brighton, MASS.*
Brook & Shotwell—*New-York, City.*
Richard Lundy—*Burlington, N. J.*
Thomas Haie—*Philadelphia, PA.*
Wm. McKeever—*West Middleton, DO.*
James P. Stabler—*Sandy Spring, MD.*
H. Niles—*Baltimore, DO.*
Samuel Brown—*Winchester, VA.*
Jonathan Taylor, Jun.—*Purcell's Store, Loudon Co. DO.*
William Webb, Esq.—*Wheeling, DO.*
Richard Williams—*Kendall, OHIO.*
James Wilson, Esq. Pr.—*Steubenville, DO.*
Wm. Lewis—*Mount Pleasant, DO.*
Mahlon Smith—*St. Clairsville, DO.*
N. Wright—*Belmont, DO.*
Richard Pierce—*Wilmingon, DO.*
Thomas Embree—*Xenia, DO.*
James M. Mason—*Cincinnati, DO.*
Amos Corwine Jun.—*Maysville, KY.*
J. D. Grant, Pr.—*Shelbyville, DO.*
Wm. Zane—*Louisville, DO.*
Rev. John Finley Crow—*Madison, IA.*
Hooper Warren, Esq.—*Edwardsville, IL.*
Wm. F. Roberts—*Harrisonville, DO.*
E. H. Piper—*Palestine, DO.*
John Geiger—*Herculanum, MO.*
John Williams—*Boyd's Creek, TENN.*
Wm. Brazleton—*Mossy Creek, DO.*
David Deadrick, Esq.—*Jonesborough, DO.*
Elijah Embree—*Pactolus, DO.*
Geo. Burkhardt, Esq.—*Paperville, DO.*
Thos. Lundy—*Rockford, Surry Co. N. C.*
Thos. Moore—*N. Garden, Guilford, DO.*
Brian Hellen—*Beaufort, DO.*
Rev. H. McMillan—*Chester Dist. S. C.*

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." — *Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 4. Vol. III.

EIGHTH MONTH, 15th, 1823.

Whole No. 32.

Sickness has prevented the editor from attending to the title page and index for the second volume of this work, as well as sundry other matters deserving of notice.—He is however again at his post; and will shortly endeavour to "have things to rights."

MANUMISSION SOCIETY OF TENNESSEE.

MINUTES,

Of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, held at Lost Creek Meeting House, Jefferson County, East Tennessee, on the 11th and 12th days of the 8th Month: (August) 1823.

The Ninth Annual Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, met on the 11th of the 8th month (August,) agreeable to adjournment last year.

1st, The President calling the house to order, the following persons produced certificates of their legal appointment as representatives to this Convention, viz.

From Greene Branch, Samuel McNees, Abram Marshall, and Thomas Hoge Junr.

From the Maryville do. Aaron Hackney, and Ephraim Lee.

Bethesda do.—Stephen Brooks and Isaiah Harrison.

Hickory Valley do.—John Coulson.

Nolachucky do.—Thomas Doan and John M'Amis.

Washington do.—Isaac Hammer.

French Broad do.—William Snoddy, Andrew Criswell, and Samuel Montgomery.

Dumpling Creek do.—Elijah Williams.

Jefferson do.—Jesse Lockhart, William Brazleton, and John Caldwell.

Middle Creek do.—William W. Bell.

Beaver Creek do.—Alexander Stowell.

Newport do.—William Garrett.

Carter's Station do.—Thomas Pogue.

Turkey Creek do.

Holston do.

Sullivan do.

Powell's Valley do.

Knoxville do. &

Chestnoey do.

} not represented.

2nd. The President, Clerk, and Treasurer's offices expiring, and they having rendered a satisfactory account of the dis-

charge of their duty in office,—The Convention nominated Stephen Brooks, and Alexander Stowell to superintend the election of officers;—and on counting the votes, it appeared that James Jones was duly re-elected President, Thomas Doan clerk, and Asa Gray treasurer.

3d. The number of members reported to this Convention, amount to 490; and the number of signers to petitions 1387—No report of either having been made by seven of the branches.

4th, The President addressed the Convention in writing, on the subject of its deliberations.

5th, Resolved, that Stephen Brooks, William Snoddy, John Coulson, Samuel McNees, and William Garrett, be a committee to take into consideration the address of the President, and report thereon to-day.

6th, The committee reported concurrence with the views of the President.

7th, Resolved, that William Snoddy, William Garrett, and Samuel McNees, be a committee to draw up an address to the several Branches, and to report to-morrow morning.

8th, Resolved, that Jesse Lockhart, and Alexander Stowell, be a committee to prepare a memorial to the State Legislature, and report to-morrow morning.

9th, Resolved that John Caldwell, and William Brazleton, be a committee to prepare an address to the several religious denominations, and report to-morrow morning.

10th, The President having been requested by last Convention, to prepare a memorial to Congress, to be laid before this Convention, reported one, which was read once and laid on the table.

11th, Resolved, that the standing committee of inspection, appointed at last Convention, be continued in office until the next, with the addition of Thomas Hoge Junr. in place of Wesley Earnest, removed away.

12th, Resolved, that this Convention request each member of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, to contribute 125 cents, or as much more as he may see proper, to defray the contingent expenses of the institution.

13th, The corresponding committee, appointed by last Convention, report compliance, as far as practicable: wherefore, it is resolved, that the said committee be continued till next Convention, and that it report thereto.

14th, Resolved, that the President's address be printed in the "Genius of Universal Emancipation."

15th, The proposals of the Abolition Society of Kentucky, for becoming consolidated under one head, with the Manumission Society of Tennessee, not being agreed to by this Convention, on account of certain difficulties which might attend it—the corresponding committee is directed to write to that humane Association, in the most friendly manner, giving them the reasons why their proposal was not accepted.

16th, Resolved, that the President of each branch, be required to collect the petitions in his respective branch, and forward them immediately, to the men herein named, viz—James Jones, for Greene, and the Counties above it; and William Brazleton Senr. for Jefferson, Sevier, Blount, Knox, and Claiborn counties, by them to be forwarded to the ensuing Legislature.

The Convention adjourned until 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

8th mo. (August) 12th.

The Convention met near the time adjourned to.

17—Resolved, that the President, James Jones, Thomas Hoge Jr. and Thomas Doan, be a committee to prepare a Memorial to be presented to a future Session of Congress, and report the same to next Convention for inspection.

18—Resolved, that the President be directed to have the Minutes of this Convention, and the address to the respective branches, printed at the expense of the institution, and that he forward a copy of each, to each branch, either by private conveyance or by mail.

19—The committee appointed yesterday, to prepare an address to the branches, reported one, which underwent three several readings, and was approved.

20—The committee appointed yesterday to prepare a memorial to the ensuing State Legislature, reported one, which underwent its several readings, and was approbated. A copy thereof to be filed in the clerk's office.

21st. The committee appointed yesterday prepared an address to the respective religious denominations, which underwent its several readings, and was concurred with. A copy to be filed in the Clerk's Office.

22. Resolved, that Jesse Lockhart be added to the corresponding committee; and that said committee, prepare a memorial to the State Legislature, and also, an address to the several religious communities, and report them to next Convention for concurrence, to be in readiness for future occasions.

23. The memorial to Congress was read its last time, and concurred with.—A copy whereof to be filed in the Clerk's Office.

23. Resolved, that the address to the religious denominations, be put into the hands of the corresponding committee to lay before the respective worshiping societies.

25. Resolved, that the thanks of this convention, be presented through the President to the inhabitants of the vicinity of Lost Creek Meeting-house, for the very hospitable manner in which the members of this Convention have been treated by them.

26. Resolved, that the next annual convention of the Manumission Society of Ten. be held at Lost Creek Meeting-house, Jefferson county, on the second day (Monday) succeeding the second seventh day (Saturday) in the eighth month (August) 1824, at 10 o'clock, A. M. and to consist of the one twentieth of the members, excepting that when a branch may not consist of 20 members—in that case, such branch shall be entitled to one representative. To which time and place, this convention adjourns.

Signed by order of the Convention.

JAMES JONES, *President.*
THOMAS DOAN, *Clerk.*

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

To the Convention.

FELLOW LABORERS IN THE CAUSE OF SUFFERING HUMANITY—Having the satisfaction of meeting you in this Convention, being the 9th of our Benevolent Institution, and having been by you promoted to the high and important station of President, the complete fulfillment of that trust, I feel my inadequacy to perform—yet I shall, to the best of my abilities discharge the several duties of my appointment. This Convention has again met for the purpose of adopting the best and wisest measures, for promoting the great object of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, which is the gradual abolition of slavery. The progress of said humane society, since the last meeting of the Convention, has a favorable appearance, and the principle of freedom is more and more acknowledged by all classes of citizens of our State. But notwithstanding this, the cause of justice seems to be in

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

some degree retarded by many of the members which have enlisted to advance the benevolent design of the society becoming lukewarm, and indifferent. There are also very many members of religious societies of christians, who will not take an active part in advocating the rights of man, thereby discouraging such as are willing, from doing it. This portion of religious professors appears to be the strongest spoke that the old Demon of oppression has in the wheel of slavery.

Among the several subjects that will come before you the following are a part—

First—I would solicit this Convention to take the most effectual means in its power for stirring up such of the members of this institution as are settled down into a state of inactivity; for I am fully persuaded that if each member of the society did but moderately exert the influence he has with the inhabitants of this country, that justice and the equal rights of man would ere long triumph over prejudice and tyrannical oppression.

Secondly—I recommend to this Convention, to consider the propriety of soliciting the ensuing session of Congress, by way of remonstrance, on the all-important subject of slavery, asking in the most impressive terms; for its Legislative aid in the removal (at least) of some of the great and outrageous evils which are practised by the advocates of the present system of slavery, under this (otherwise free) government—to wit: the driving human beings through different parts of this Republic, frequently in handcuffs and chains, to some market place of human flesh and blood, there to be sold for slaves, which is often attended with the unjust, antichristian custom of separating husband and wife.—These, with many other evils, I think Congress has full and complete power to take cognizance of, and entirely, discourage, by laying sufficient fines upon all such inhuman offenders.—If this should be done by our National Rulers, it would be preparing the way for universal freedom.

Thirdly.—I also solicit the Convention to take into serious consideration the expediency of addressing our next State Legislature, by Memorial, praying that body to give its Legislative aid in putting down the enormous evils of slavery in this state. I would suggest the propriety of such Memorial, in part, co-operating with the petition that is in circulation among the citizens of this state, praying the gradual abolition of slavery, and exhibiting to that honorable body in plain terms, the nature of the evils practised by a set of inland kidnappers and

dealers in human beings, whose conduct is equal in crime to piracy.

Fourthly.—I recommend to the Convention to consider the propriety of soliciting each of the religious societies of christians to join in petitioning government to give Legislative assistance in abolishing slavery.—The removal of this darkest of stains, from the reputation of our republican institutions, requires the consent of all the people in community. Certainly Christian professors of all denominations, will not hesitate (for a moment) in giving their co-operation in petitioning the several Legislatures from each of their respective bodies, on the all important subject. The time now seems fully come, that all religious societies confess slavery to be wrong. I wish each denomination of christians and every member thereof, to consider, that by the consent of the inhabitants, this great evil may be removed through Legislative interference;—and let each society & every member thereof, which holds back and stands mute, consider that they do in a greater or less degree approve the iniquitous practice of involuntary slavery; and all the concomitant evils which attend it.

I trust that none of the members of this Convention will be deterred from the duty they owe to their country and coloured brethren, on account of an address from a former Convention to the several religious societies, in some instances being passed over as unworthy of notice, merely because the benevolent design was not something novel, or new. Justice is always the same as if new, and changes not. I have no doubt but time will convince such persons as reason after that manner, of their self exalted folly, and show the propriety of all classes in this great Republic, joining to ask Legislative aid in promoting the rights of man.

I further suggest to the Convention the advantages which might arise from suitable persons being sent out thro' this state, for the purpose of promoting the cause of justice.

Lastly.—I recommend to this Convention to consider the propriety of sending an address to the several branches thereof, enjoining on them to be faithful in advocating the great work of humanity, which they have embarked in, advising them to strictly adhere to our constitution. These, with other matters which may claim your serious deliberation, I submit to you with desires you may be guided by unerring wisdom in transacting the important business before you.

JAMES JONES,

Eighth Month 12th, 1835.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

ADDRESS

*Of the Ninth Annual Convention of the
Manumission Society of Tennessee, to the re-
spective Branches.*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW LABORERS :

'This Convention consider it their duty to address you, and to bring to your view the important duty that devolves on you as Branches.

Having in former addresses, entered fully into an examination of the subject of slavery, and having shewn its injustice, and how repugnant it was to the principles of Justice, & the rights of man, we deem it unnecessary in this address, to enter into a re-examination of its principles.—In fact it appears to be given up by all classes of our citizens, that slavery is wrong; that it is unjust; that it is a shameful violation of the rights of man; and that it is inconsistent with the principles of political justice and sound policy. The removal of this great evil is the object of this Convention, of its Branches, of its Members, and ought to be the object of every member of civil society.

The government of this country is a republican representative one: all power is where it ought to be, with the people. It is with them, to remove the evil of slavery, by instructing their representatives, to pass a law declaring that the children of slaves born in this state, after a day fixed by the Legislature shall be free, at an age which that body might think proper. If this was done; the evil would begin to grow out, and would ultimately be done away, and cease to be a stain on the character of our government.

Here a scene opens to the view, in which every member of the society should labour with zeal and diligence.—In short, the success of this good cause rests, in a great degree, on the piety, zeal and diligence of its members: Hence let every one be actively engaged; let them be prepared to shew their neighbors, and to those they may have intercourse with; how unjust, and how impolitic slavery is; that it will, if persisted in, ultimately bring down on this happy land the judgment of a just & righteous God: & let them on these occasions, prevail on as many as they can, to sign the petitions to the Legislature; and thus instruct their representatives to pass the necessary laws.

In discharging the duties that devolve up on you as members of this society, you have to combat with principles, and practices, that have been sanctioned by laws, and by

usages that have existed ever since our government existed,—and that have become so familiar, that their injustice is not discoverable at the first view; hence let every member of this society endeavour by sound argument, to hold up the practice of slavery in its true colors.

This Convention recommends the establishment of as many new branches as possible, in every neighborhood. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." Let a Branch Society be raised in every neighborhood, & by patient perseverance in the path of duty, under the divine blessing they will succeed.

While this Convention views with satisfaction the exertion made by some of the Branches, yet they have to lament the want of zeal, and diligence in others, and are sorry to find, that several branches are not represented in this Convention.

We would call the attention of the Presidents, and members of the Branches in the most pointed manner, to this duty. Be active; be diligent in all that we recommend—do not fail to send to each annual Convention, Representatives, with all necessary reports and returns.

Remember, friends and fellow labourers, God will deliver these distressed people.—He will deliver them through our instrumentality, if we will be diligent and zealous in his cause. But if we fail to act our part, yet he will deliver them. "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see?" He will see their oppression, will hear their groans, and will deliver them.—If not through our instrumentality, because we fail to act our part, yet he will deliver them perhaps by his awful judgments, in which we may for our sake, warnness, and supineness, be called to share, let us therefore be diligent.

The concerns of the Society cannot be carried on without some expense, yet that expense will be but small. Let the Presidents of the different Branches, collect from each member 12 1-2 cents, and convey it to the treasurer of the convention, which will be sufficient to pay the expense.

This Convention recommends to its branches and members, to encourage the circulation of a periodical work, published in Greeneville, Tennessee, entitled the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," as a means of promoting the cause of emancipation.

All which is submitted.

WM: SNOODY, *Chairman*

12th day of 8th month, 1828.

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

The following letter was received a few days since, from the secretary of the acting committee of this institution, and I have concluded that the best way to give it publicity is by an insertion in this paper. — *Editor.*

Philadelphia, 8 Mo. 8th, 1823.

RESPECTED FRIEND,

I am directed by the Acting Committee of "the American Convention, for promoting the abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race," to inform the several societies established in the United States, for the protection and benefit of coloured persons, that the next biennial meeting of the Convention is to be held at Philadelphia on the "first Tuesday of October," next. All such societies are entitled to send delegates in number not exceeding ten; and they are invited so to do. — Thou wilt please do us the favour to communicate this to the society of which thou art a member.

Very respectfully,

Thy Friend,

THOMAS EARLE

Sec'y. Acting Committee.

BENJAMIN LUNDY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
THE ENQUIRER.

Having observed, in No. 16 vol. 2 of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, some observations made by a writer over the signature of "*Africanus*," with regard to the value of the labor of slaves, compared with that of freemen, and reflecting much upon this important subject since, I have been induced to believe that it might be to our advantage, to make an enquiry into it, to ascertain whether there cannot be a great improvement in the method of employing the people of colour in these United States.

Smith, in his "*Wealth of Nations*," says: "Labor in any country, and at all times, is the best criterion to judge of the nature of all commodities, the product of, or improved by the labor of that particular country." If these conclusions of his should be generally correct, will not that rule assist us in making the proposed enquiry?

I am by no means prepared to go into details upon the subject, but will throw in my mite, by making some observations, and trust others feeling an interest in this great question, will come forward, and with their own particular knowledge and experience assist in bringing the subject before the public in its true light, unbiased by former prejudices, customs, or attachments to older practices. All are more or less interested,

but none more so than the slave holders themselves. To go fully into the enquiry, it may be best to endeavour to ascertain the views or origin of importing laborers from Africa. But I am not prepared to satisfy myself or others, whether it was done from a plea of necessity or of choice. By the laws of nature, water will, if not obstructed, flow until it finds its level. Money, also, will go where it is in the most demand—and labor, like water and money, will also go and remain where it is the most needed, if no obstruction exists. If the planters in the West Indies, and on this continent, had not imported laborers from Africa, would not the great demand for labor to cultivate the cane, coffee, tobacco, rice, cotton, indigo, &c. have brought on labourers from the different parts of Europe; and at this time instead of having millions of people of colour among us, would there not have been that many, and perhaps more people of our own colour in addition to the present white population? For does not the existence of slavery prevent white labourers from coming into certain districts of our country, where the labour is chiefly done by slaves? and is it not also the cause of many white laborers leaving such districts as soon as they conveniently can? Some that are better informed than myself can answer this enquiry. I am of the opinion that white laborers are not much inclined to mix in their employment with slaves, and that the existence of slavery in any district or country takes the laboring part of business from the hands of the whites and places it into the hands of the blacks, thus inducing the white part of the population to believe that labor is degrading to them, and that if by necessity, or choice they do labor, they are thought but little better than the slaves. Under those circumstances, will it not be natural for such to improve their situation by removal, while the same circumstances would also deter other white laborers from coming into those districts? If such are the consequences of the labor being done by slaves, it must continue to be done by them, until some change takes place that will bring into action the dormant powers of the white inhabitants of those districts—some change that will operate so as to preserve the laboring whites that are already there, or that will induce other white laborers to come in for the purpose of labor. It is admitted that the true riches of a country consists chiefly in the laboring part of the community, or rather in the products of their labor; and where laborers are

but few, in consequence the product will be small and of but little value, unless that little labor should be of an uncommonly profitable kind; and thus if there is a deficiency of laborers, just according to that deficiency does that district lack of the improvement it would otherwise have if laborers were more plenty.

Should these sentiments be correct, is not the plan of the Colonization Society an injurious scheme to these United States? Look at history, and consider the effects upon Spain: When the Moors and the Jews were expelled from that country, did not some part thereof almost become a wilderness for want of laborers? The policy of importing laborers from Africa, whether good or bad, is not now so much a subject of interest as to know under existing circumstances what is best to be done with that people now among us: they are part of our population, and they at this time appear to be necessary to us; therefore would it not be mistaken policy to send them from us, unless we can introduce white laborers in their places; and before we thus send off the black part of our population, will it not be wisdom in us to enquire and know whether their places can at this time be supplied by white laborers? If Africanus is correct in the assertion that freemen will do double the labor of slaves, then we might by emancipating our blacks spare one half, and yet have the same labor done by the other half, as we now have done by the whole number, and thus save the amount of feeding and clothing of those sent away.—But admitting that to be correct, yet would it not be bad policy to send any away, until our country is fully improved? on the contrary would it not be best to retain them, and improve the country so much the more?

When travelling on the great road leading from Virginia to the westward, and to the cotton settlements, and observing planters removing with their families and numerous collections of negroes, I have often reflected upon and considered the great injury that Virginia was sustaining by losing such numbers of her laborers: but labor will find its level. The value of a black being much greater in the cotton settlements than in Virginia, that State must and will suffer until the demand comes upon a level between the two sections of country, with reckoning the expense of transportation. Nevertheless a Virginian may say, let them go, we can spare them, as the natural increase will supply all deficiencies, yet admitting that to be true, such districts cannot improve, but must and will continue stationa-

ry for want of laborers, or perhaps on the retrograde, while other parts of these States under more auspicious circumstances are rapidly on the advance. But to come at the true state of the question, which is the most cheap and profitable labor, that of freemen, or those in a state of slavery, we must both observe and take all facts and circumstances into consideration.

A neighbor being asked the price of his corn, replied three shillings, stating that it cost him three shillings and sixpence, his corn being raised by slaves; and his veracity was not called in question: Though his land was good and perhaps his crops productive, yet after feeding his negroes, there would be but little left for sale, which cost him the price stated; while, at the same time, other farmers in the neighborhood who raised their corn by the labour of freemen, could afford to sell their corn at two shillings per bushel. It is generally observed by travellers, that as soon as they get into those parts of the country where slavery exists to much extent (Kentucky excepted) travelling is more expensive, provisions, horse feed &c. being more dear, than in those parts where slavery does not exist.—Why is it so? is it because the labour of slaves is more dear, or do they have more profit? if the profit is greater, would not that induce them to make greater improvements, or induce others to come from those districts where produce was not of so much value, as competition will generally bring things to a level? or does the degrading condition of a white labourer prevent people from coming from other parts, thus preventing the full play of competition? If this is the case, it may be that the produce of those labouring districts does in reality cost them more than in other parts of the country where the labor is done by freemen, and as the price is high, it may be as low as can be afforded.

It is highly probable that those districts or sections of country that have their labour done principally by slaves, have been supported by a kind of monopoly that climate has given them; and if the western, eastern, and the middle states of the Union, would have entered completely in competition with the more southern states in the produce of sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco &c, the price would have been brought down so low, as to cause the planters to have altered their method of business, by pursuing a more economical plan than has been done, which probably would ere this time, in a great measure, have done slavery away from among us. It has been found that where there

has been a competition between individuals, companies, or people, that those who can afford to bring their goods the cheapest into market do ultimately succeed—and if it should be found that the labour of slaves is dearer than that of freemen, no doubt but that in a short time it will be done by freemen: necessity alone will force us to make the change, thus giving but little choice in the end. Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," says: "Every article, the produce of labour, where there are no circumstances operating as a monopoly, will ultimately be brought down by competition as low as it can be afforded when managed on the most economical plan." If these conclusions are correct, it will lead us to enquire whether climate has, or has not prevented a free competition in the production of many articles, the growth of these states, & if it has, whether the monopoly heretofore given some districts by climate will in future operate as formerly. It may possibly be we are on the eve of great changes in many respects—We find tobacco can be raised to good advantage in such a large section of these states and other parts of America, that we may presume that article will be kept at a very moderate price for the future. The same observations may be applied to rice, especially if we take into consideration that there is a species of upland rice that may be cultivated to good advantage in many parts of this country which is a good substitute for the other kind. The rice from the East Indies the produce of free labour, will no doubt with other circumstances keep that article at as low a price as it can be afforded, when cultivated upon the most frugal plan. We have for a long time been superseded in the article of indigo by what came from South America & from Bengal—The article of cotton has for some years past in these states employed the labor of slaves more than any other product. What effects the great changes may have, that have lately taken place in the Colonies formerly under the jealous policy of Spain, time only can determine; but should the inhabitants of such vast fertile regions where the climate is so congenial to the growth of cotton, turn their attention to the cultivation of this article, that circumstance in addition to the large districts that have been opened, and will continue to be opened, in these states favourable to the culture of cotton, will cause it to be produced upon ascale that will in all probability reduce the price to the lowest ebb, with taking in the circumstance of the competition of cotton from the East Indies raised by freemen. But

there are other circumstances that will no doubt enable the freemen of the different states to enter completely into competition with our more southern neighbors in the produce of raw stuff for clothing. It will be recollected that but few years past cotton stuffs formed but a very inconsiderable part of our clothing; but the invention of the gin for separating the seed from the cotton, and the discovery of the art of spinning it by machinery, enabled the planter and the manufacturer by the aid of these labour saving machines, to go upon such an extensive scale, and to bring goods made of cotton so cheap into the different markets, that clothing made of flax and hemp was very much superseded by that made from cotton, which gave the more southern parts of these states great advantages over other parts of the Union in the produce of raw materials for clothing. But now, by some late inventions, flax and hemp may be produced much cheaper than cotton, & there is a new method of spinning by machinery, whereby four pounds of flax and hemp may be spun at the expense of one pound of cotton. The new invention of dressing flax and hemp by machinery without rotting, very much improves them in softness & durability; & is also a saving in the quantity, which application of labor saving machinery to flax and hemp will probably more than balance their application to cotton. This no doubt will again bring into general use, clothing, sheets &c, made of flax and hemp, as being more durable and pleasant. And as the inhabitants of Europe will no doubt avail themselves of these late improvements in the method of treating of, and of spinning flax and hemp, we may look for a great change in a few years as it regards the cotton planters, which circumstances will completely take away the monopoly that climate heretofore had given to the people of the southern states as respects the growing of cotton.

(To be concluded in next Number.)

ILLINOIS.

Report of the Committee, &c. (CONCLUDED.)

Your committee deem it their duty not to close their report without offering a few remarks upon the law entitled "An act respecting free negroes, mulattoes, servants & slaves," passed, March 30th, 1819, which act in the opinion of your committee needs revision and improvement; and they are happy to announce their entire capacity to devise a more effectual plan to prevent the infamous traffic in negro flesh, than that which is now prescribed by law. The great imperfection of the act in question must be

obvious to every one that reads it; and the inadequacy of its provisions to accomplish the purposes intended by it, is demonstrated by its practical results. The ninth section of the act subjects to a penalty any person who shall *forcibly* take and carry out of the State any negro or mulatto, &c. It seems from this section that unless force is actually used, no penalty would be incurred, and the force must be continued until the negro is actually out of the state: Suppose a person should steal a negro in St. Clair and take him to Gallatin county by force, and there hand him over to another negro stealer who should take him out of the State:—the first stealer would be perfectly innocent and incur no penalty whatever, because he did not take him out of the State by force. Or suppose a person should entice a negro to go with him from this state for the purpose of driving horses to Alabama, and should there sell him: still he would be liable to no penalty because he had not taken the negro out of the state by force. It is believed that more negroes have been enticed away by false and deceptive means than were ever taken out of the state by force, and yet there is no law to punish those who thus entice negroes out of the state without force, and then sell them into perpetual slavery. Another imperfection in this section suggests itself to your committee, that to take any free negro out of the state, even *forcibly*, & sell him is no crime, unless such negro or mulatto has previously gained a *legal settlement* in the state. The difficulty, and in most instances the absolute impossibility of proving a legal settlement (a phrase of extremely indefinite meaning in itself) would in most cases render all attempts at prosecution ineffectual and abortive. Your committee do not hesitate to say that the law on this subject is extremely defective in its provisions, and requires and is susceptible of essential improvements.

It is deemed important by our committee that the General Assembly should pass laws to prevent the emigration of coloured persons to this state, and to effect this object, it is thought that the first section of the act alluded to is not sufficiently comprehensive in its prohibition.

If free negroes are permitted to reside here at all, they should be facilitated in the means of finding employment, and yet who ever hires them incurs a heavy penalty, unless they are furnished with certain certificates which it is generally believed free negroes possess or are capable of obtaining.

The penalty mentioned in the third section of the act is improvident and unjust. Moreover the punishment being extremely disproportionate to the offence, it will always be difficult, if not impossible, to effect conviction. Whoever knowingly harbors or secretes the servant of another ought to be punished; but to class such a person with felons and thieves, seems to be unnecessarily rigorous.

The seventh and eighth sections of the act are liable to still greater objections, and your committee suggest their entire repeal.

The eleventh section of the act is unmeaning as it stands, & it is impossible to ascertain by any reference what contract of service is there intended.

When we recollect that there is no servitude in this state except such as is the result of compact and agreement, it is impossible to reconcile the provisions of the 12th section with either the spirit or letter of our constitution; and those of the 15th section are equally exceptionable. In all the sections alluded to, it is difficult to determine who is intended by the term *servant*.

It is very questionable whether the General Assembly have a constitutional right to discriminate in the punishment of negroes and white men committing the same offences, as is prescribed in the 18th section of the same act. It would no doubt violate the constitution and every principle of legislation to punish a mechanic one way and a farmer another for the same offence. The impropriety, it strikes your committee, is equally great in either of these cases: The constitution has not given to the General Assembly the right to legislate differently for negroes and white men.

Your committee have observed many other imperfections in this act; and from the result of their investigation upon the whole subject committed to their consideration, beg leave to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee to whom was referred so much of the Governor's speech as relates to the kidnapping of free blacks, and the total abolition of slavery in this state, have leave to prepare a bill in conformity with their report on these subjects.

RISDON MOORE.
JOHN EMMITT.

ERRATA.

In No 1, Vol. 3, page 5 and 23 line from the top, for Pharoah acting, read Pharoah acted. Page 6, 52 line from top, for their chosen policy, read their ill chosen policy.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." — *Declaration Independence, U. S.*

No. 5. VOL. III.

NINTH MONTH, 1823.

WHOLE No. 33.

It appears that the late alteration in the form of this work does not altogether meet the views of distant subscribers. Having made some arrangements by which the inconvenience of printing it in whole sheets will, it is hoped, be obviated, and feeling anxious to gratify my patrons as far as possible, when the measures necessary to accomplish it are not too much at variance with my own sentiments, I shall yield to their wishes without hesitation. It will henceforth be printed once a month, in whole sheets, as formerly.

COLONIZATION.

The following is an extract of a letter from a very respectable gentleman in Maryland, to the editor, dated "June 9th, 1823." I perfectly agree with the writer that (until the prejudices of the whites are measurably done away) it will be necessary to colonize a portion of the colored population to ensure the success of the work of emancipation. But I fear that very little good is likely to result from the attempt to establish a colony in Africa. First, the distance renders it totally impracticable to send a sufficient number there, for that purpose; and second, it appears, by late accounts received from thence, that the territory purchased by the agents of the colonization society has so far, proved a very grave-yard for Americans without distinction of colour. I shall take up this subject again, shortly.

"In your laudable and patriotic efforts to rescue from endless and galling bondage, a portion of the human race, I cannot refrain from wishing you entire success. How long shall it be told that the United States of America, or at least a part of them, while they hold in one hand the emblem of liberty, display with the other the blood stained banner of slavery? I most sincerely hope that the humane and most christian exertions of the Colonization Society may be crowned with complete success. In my opinion, colonization is the only proper and efficacious plan of rendering justice to that highly oppressed class of mankind, as well as perfect safety to the white population.— And sir, how much good may result to the present inhabitants of Africa from the establishment of a christian and civilized colony in their land, is out of the power of

man to predict. I hope a portion of your paper will be devoted to the furtherance of that object.

Yours most respectfully."

ILLINOIS.

A most excellent address was delivered before the "*St. Clair Society for the prevention of Slavery in Illinois*," on the "4th of July," 1823, by the Rev. J. M. Peck.—It is, indeed, a masterly production, and does great credit to the speaker. He treats largely on the subject of slavery, and exhibits the system in its true light. I should be glad to record a considerable portion of it in this work, would my limits permit; but I cannot do this without encroaching too much upon the privilege of correspondents. A letter from a very intelligent gentleman in Edwardsville, in that State, received by the last mail, holds out the idea that the slave party is rapidly on the decline:—and from the expression of public sentiment, in many places at the late celebration the friends of emancipation have every reason to hope for the best.

GREENEVILLE BRANCH

OF THE

Manumission Society of Tennessee.

At a meeting of sundry citizens of the town of Greeneville, pursuant to previous notice, at the house of B. Lundy, on Monday evening the 8th of September, 1823, the object having been stated to be the formation of a Branch, or Society, auxiliary to the Manumission Society of Tennessee, William W. Woods was called to the chair, and P. N. Wilson chosen Clerk.

The Constitution of the Manumission Society was then read, and the following persons entered their names as members of an association to be organised for the purpose aforesaid, viz: W. W. Woods, B. Lundy, Francis A. McCorkle, Isaiah Osborn, Joseph B. McClellan, Thomas Hoge and P. N. Wilson.

After a short conversation, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the persons above named:—

1. *Resolved*, that application be made to the Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, at its next meeting, for the ad-

mission of this Association as a Branch of said Society.

2. *Resolved*, that in case of admission, as mentioned in the preceding resolution, this Association shall be known by the name of the "*Greenville Branch of the Manumission Society of Tennessee*."

3. *Resolved*, that B. Lundy and Francis A. M'Corkle be and are hereby appointed a committee to draught rules and regulations, or bye laws, and report the same for consideration at the next meeting.

4. *Resolved*, that the Meeting do now adjourn to convene again at this place, on the 12th of this month, at early candle light.

Friday, Sept. 12th, 1823.

The members all met pursuant to adjournment.

The Committee appointed at the last meeting, to draught bye laws, reported the same, which were read and adopted.

John Moore was then admitted, on application, as a member of this Association.

The members next proceeded to the election of officers for one year; & on counting the votes it appeared that B. Lundy was elected President, W. W. Woods, Clerk, and F. A. M'Corkle, Treasurer.

The President then took the chair, and addressed the Meeting in a speech adapted to the occasion.

B. Lundy was elected a delegate to attend the next Meeting of the Convention of the Manumission Society in Greene County, which will be held on the 19th of this month, to make application on behalf of this Association for admittance into the said Society, as a branch thereof.

It was next resolved that a fund be raised to defray necessary expences, and a levy of 12½ cents was accordingly made on each member.

The Clerk was then authorized to draw upon the Treasurer for the sum of 50 cents, to purchase paper for a book to keep the records.

On motion, resolved that the thanks of this meeting be presented to the President for his address, and a copy requested for publication.

The proceedings together with the President's Address, were then ordered to be published in the *American Economist*, and the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

Adjourned, to meet again at W. W. Woods' school room, at early candle light, on

the evening of the second Friday in December, 1823.

B. LUNDY, *Pres't.*
W. W. WOODS, *Clerk.*

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

FELLOW-LABOURERS IN THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY,

It may not be improper, upon the present occasion, to make a few remarks on the subject of our association. It is one which must be acknowledged by the virtuous and the intelligent to be truly important; as it is intended to aid in promoting the cause of freedom and justice, and in paving the way for the gradual and final extinction of an ancient relic of barbarous tyranny, or of refined cruelty, from the soil which has been declared sacred to liberty.

When we look around us and observe the rapid advancement of political light; when we see the dark corners of the Universe illuminated by its effulgent rays; and when we perceive the nations which had for a succession of ages been enveloped in the gloom of superstitious folly and moral turpitude, breaking the spell of enchantment, disengaging themselves from the fetters of delusion, and rising in all the majesty of peerless virtue above the debasing and degrading considerations of sordid, selfish policy, we may safely indulge a pleasing hope that the period for the accomplishment of a general reformation is drawing near.— And under the consoling reflection, which even a distant view of the subject inspires, we cannot but feel the happiest sensations, and indulge the most lively anticipations relative to the improvements which must inevitably follow in the science of government, and in every thing which adds dignity to human nature. In tracing the pages of history, both sacred and profane, we find nothing to warrant the idea that there ever was a time when greater efforts were made, by the powers of earth and hell united, to crush the spirit of liberty, and to enslave mankind than at the present—and it may also be said with equal truth, that there never was a period when the march of mind and the general spread of knowledge wore a more auspicious aspect. Many are now living who remember perfectly well the ardent solicitude that was manifested by the devotees of cold unfeeling avarice, and the violent measures that were by them opposed to the benevolence of those generous patriots who made the first movement in the work of abolishing the Foreign "Slave Trade." They can call to mind the bitter

fulminations and the fiery wrathful imprecations which continually assailed that chosen band of christian philanthropists, until the force of conviction had wrought upon the public mind, and the wicked practice which they had labored to extinguish was discouraged by the enactment of penal laws. Yes, they can tell of the odium that was attached to the name of an "Abolitionist;" the perils through which he had frequently to pass, and the thankless, toilsome routine of duty which he daily performed, without witnessing the cheering ray of any visible and perceivable effect that it produced within the bounds of his acquaintance.—And, in extending their views, they can picture to our imaginations the horrid, and, if I may be allowed the expression, the infernal appearance of slave ships entering our harbors, freighted with their masses of human misery, & surcharged with manacled and mangled victims of outrageous cruelty starving on their scanty pittance of rice and yams, and suffocating amid the filth and stench of fetid dungeons more intolerable than the very purgatory of the Romish Church. But how changed is the scene at present! what an important revolution has taken place in public opinion within their recollection, and even within a few years! The "Slave Trade" which was viewed a short time since as a legitimate commerce, and adhered to with as much pertinacity as that carried on in the produce of our soil, is now declared to be piracy by several of the nations of the civilized world, and the wretches who engage in it are punishable with death. Man stealing & murder, on the ocean, is no longer dignified with the appellation of *honest trade*, but is placed in the list of capital offences, for which nothing but the life of the perpetrator can atone; and the vile spirit of Avarice has been compelled to acquiesce in the measure.

But let us take a more particular view of the subject, and examine somewhat minutely into the effects produced by the meritorious exertions of Statesman and Philanthropists, in different parts of the world, within a short period.

Some time previous to the breaking out of the North American Revolution, the pious labours of a Lay and a Benedict did much in preparing the public mind for embracing those momentous truths which were afterwards more generally acknowledged as the basis of equity and justice. Not only did the Society of Friends adopt a resolution to prohibit their members from holding

slaves, but in rapid succession we beheld many of the most enlightened men of the age aiding and assisting by the power of their elucquence, and the weight of their character and influence, in establishing the principles which those true patriots had strove to maintain. Among the most conspicuous of these, we find a Franklin, whose capacious mind e'en dared to "grasp the lightning's fiery wings;" a Rush, whose knowledge of human nature was scarcely ever surpassed by any mortal; and a WASHINGTON, who has been emphatically styled the "*Father of our Country*." On the other side of the Atlantic a corresponding degree of energy was also manifested by many of the wisest statesmen of the day. We there see a Clarkson arduously engaged in collecting evidence of the inhumanity of dealers in the souls and bodies of men; and a Wilberforce, a Sharp, a Pitt and a Fox, with others of their able and philanthropic compeers, thundering in the British Forum the truths inseparably connected with liberty and law, and denouncing with the terrors of eternal justice the horrible conduct of slave traders, as that of monsters in the shape of men, who were in the habit of prowling the earth and the ocean in quest of human blood. The energetic and animated exertions of the advocates of Universal liberty, acting in conjunction, was calculated to have a powerful effect. As before observed, laws were enacted for the abolition of the traffic in human beings at sea.—Nor did the work stop here. Several of the States of this Union have entirely abrogated the system of slavery within their limits; Mexico, and the greater portion of South America, has also taken measures for its extinguishment; and a proposition is now before the British parliament to extend the blessing of freedom to the whole of their West India population.

We have seen that General Washington, who led forth the armies of North America to combat the enemies of Freedom, could not rest contented in establishing the independence of the white people; but the excellent example set by him, in liberating his slaves, is beginning to have a most salutary effect upon the minds of slave holders in this country.—Many who have been inclined to doubt the propriety of a measure of that kind, are ready to ask the question, "*Would such a man as GENERAL WASHINGTON have established the precedent, if he had believed it would be inconsistent with the welfare of his country?*" We might, in,

deed, answer, that a knowledge of his character entirely precludes the supposition.—*The founder of this great Republic would never have recommended, either by example or precept, any thing calculated to endanger its happiness or prosperity.* The same course was pursued by Gen. Bolivar, the Washington of S. America; and it was by his solicitation that the Legislators of Colombia inhibited the system of slavery throughout their dominions.

While these great things are performing, shall we fold up our arms and sit at ease, viewing with indifference and unconcern the thousands of human beings among us reduced to abject, unconditional servitude, many of whom are treated in the most cruel and inhuman manner? Shall we, who profess to be the most enlightened people on earth, the purest republicans, and the most honest Christians, suffer the minions of royalty and those who are just emerging from the pit of despotism to outstrip us in the race of political improvement? We have agreed to use our utmost exertions to put a stop to the horrid work of oppression, of torture, & of dealing in the souls & bodies of men on the ocean. Happy would it be for us; happy would it be for America; happy would it be for the world, if the same regulations were generally in force within the bounds of this Republic—but alas! here our prospects are clouded e'er with sorrow & regret, with doubt & fear & anxious solicitude. We see in the bosom of our own country a regular trade carried on in human flesh.—In fact we see that the *same thing* which has been denounced on the high seas as a crime of the most malignant nature against the authority of earth and the majesty of heaven, is tolerated within the environs of the United States of America; and both the enlightened and the ignorant, the rulers and the ruled, are in many instances, active in perpetuating such a state of things!!

It is for the purpose of drawing the attention of the public to this exceedingly important subject, that we have formed this Association. It is for the purpose of aiding with our feeble endeavors to purify the social compact; to cleanse the body politic of some of its impurities; to heal the wounds inflicted by wicked hands, and rescue a portion of our fellow creatures from oppression, degradation and disgrace, that we shall labor in our collective capacity: and may we all feel that the justness of our cause is a sufficient guarantee for the success of our undertaking. But we are not alone in the great work of benevolence. There are ma-

ny who have gone before us, and are now engaged in the same humane work, with whom we shall act the part of assistants & co-adjutors. The ice is already broken, and we have nought to do but navigate the stream with caution and perseverance. If we shall be able to prove to our brethren who are in possession of slaves, the impropriety as well as the *impolicy* of continuing to hold them, a great point will be gained. And there is little doubt that it will soon be made to appear that the profit of slave labor in our country has hitherto depended entirely on a monopoly in certain kinds of business; and the probability is, that the time is not far distant when this monopoly will be done away by the competition that free labor will produce. It is my ardent desire that these things may be viewed in their true light; and, in short, we should take every thing into consideration that may have a bearing upon the question of slavery, as it exists in our country, that measures may be adopted for its gradual & final extinction.

It may be observed, that we have a well grounded cause of hope for success in our undertaking. Within the last twenty years, several millions of the inhabitants of this Continent who had tolerated the system of slavery, have now set their faces against it. The work of emancipation is steadily progressing, and nought but the hand of Deity can arrest its progress, provided its advocates remain firm, and continue active in their vocation. In our own particular section of country we perceive that a great change has lately been effected in public opinion, and the work of reformation is still advancing. It cannot be possible that with the flood of light breaking in upon us from every quarter, we shall remain enveloped in the gloom of avaricious prejudice, and the miserably erroneous system of feudal folly and usurpation—no: our fathers made a partially successful effort to establish the principles of civil liberty in this land. For this attempt they have been lauded to the skies by many, and praised by every nation and every individual who were not directly interested in perpetuating the system of tyranny and oppression.—And just so it will be with those who are now endeavoring to extend and complete the work which they began. In due time, when the wery edge of malice and the asperity of prejudice is worn off from the minds of those who have contracted an enmity to African freedom by being habituated to the exercise of unlimited authority over their fellow creatures, then shall the

united voice of every class of men award the meed of renown. Heretofore it has been looked upon as disgraceful in some parts of our country to advocate the cause of the maltreated negro, unless the master were in some degree interested; but now, a great majority view it as an evidence of a benevolent disposition, of course it will be considered as an honorable act.—Nor will the revolution in public sentiment stop here—*The time is approaching when a public declaration against the toleration of any kind of slavery in this nation, will be absolutely requisite as a passport to offices of honor, trust, or profit.*

To sum up the whole, we see that the work of emancipation is pressing upon us on all sides. The Island of St. Domingo was made the first receptacle for negro slaves, in the vicinity of the American Continent, and the system of slavery has been abolished there, in a manner awful to relate, but in the very way that it will be done in every nation upon the earth where it is tolerated, unless the hard hearted Pharaohs in authority yield to the dictates of mercy, and consent to give every one his due. The vast extent of country on the west, the north and the east of us having also, for the most part, declared against the unhallowed practice, shall a few States in this federative republic, that has been ostentatiously announced as the cradle of liberty in the new world, be the last to yield to that heaven-born principle of justice which has been embraced by their neighbors?—Shall the Spaniards and others whom we have looked upon as so deeply sunken in the mire of despotism that it were seemingly impossible for them ever to extricate themselves, be suffered to take the lead of us in the race of virtuous political fame? Forbid it honour—forbid religion, reason and justice—forbid it ye shades of our fathers who advocated the cause of the oppressed, but now repose in the silent tomb, and whose virtuous deeds should be held in grateful remembrance until time shall be no more. Let us, one and all, resolve henceforth to discountenance and discourage the odious and tyrannical practice of enslaving our fellow creatures, by every honorable means in our power—Let us strive to rid our country of this alarming evil, which if not removed in season will assuredly prove our ruin. Much may be done by an active and energetic course of proceeding. We are laboring in the best of causes—It is the cause of our country—it is the cause of justice and mercy—

it is the cause of Heaven—and it must be ultimately successful.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

In the British West Indies.

The following propositions or plan, for the gradual abolition of slavery in the British colonies was laid before Parliament a few months since.

“The subject divides itself into two—the condition of the existing slaves and the condition of their children.

With regard to the former, I wish the following improvements.

1. That the slaves should be attached to the island, and, under modifications, to the soil.
2. That they cease to be chattels in the eye of the law.
3. That their testimony be received *quatenus valeat*.
4. That when any one lays in his claim the services of a negro, the *onus* should rest on the claimant.
5. That obstructions to manumission should be removed.
6. That the provisions of the Spanish law (being by competent authority the value of the slave, and allowing him to purchase day at a time,) should be introduced.
7. That no governor, judge, or attorney general, should be a slave owner.
8. That an effectual provision shall be made for the religious instruction of the slaves.
9. That marriage should be enforced and sanctioned.
10. That the Sunday should be devoted by the slave to repose and religious instruction; and that other time should be allotted for the cultivation of his provision ground.
11. That some (but what I cannot specify) measures should be taken to restrain the authority of the master in punishing his untried slave, and that some substitute should be found for the driving system.

These are the proposed qualifications for the existing Slavery. But I am far more anxiously bent upon the extinction of slavery altogether.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
THE ENQUIRER.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 31.)

From these prospects we may suppose there will in a few years only be the article of sugar in which climate will give any monopoly to the southern planters; which may probably exist in some degree for a short time; but it is more than probable the southern districts in these states will be much affected by the changes that have taken place

the colonies formerly under the trammels of the jealous spaniard. The changes that have, and are taking place in the fertile island of Hispaniola, and that may take place in the island of Cuba, with a prospect of other and new arrangements in a mercantile way, and of new regulations by the British government, so that the freemen of the East Indies will come in competition in the article of sugar more than formerly, the climate and soil of vast districts of the East Indies being very favorable for the growing of the cane, the people numerous, their living being chiefly on rice, consequently quite cheap, that when they generally get into the method of manufacturing and graining it by the use of lime as done in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and the shackles removed on that trade that now exists, we may confidently expect a very great reduction in the price of that article. Therefore the climate has heretofore given a monopoly to our more southern neighbors in the production of some articles that have been quite profitable, who through that advantage could afford to pay high prices for slaves, pursue a system of agriculture and management that could only be supported by these high prices obtained for their products, should a general change take place, by which the price of their products would be much reduced, their plan of management must also change, and the price of slaves would in consequence fall and their business must be managed upon more economical plans. And then, and not till then, will interest induce the planters to look around them, and see if an improvement cannot be made in their method of business; and then the slave holders will be induced seriously to enquire whether the labor of the slave or the freeman is the cheapest. Then also they may be induced to make calculations between the profit of breeding slaves and that of cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, &c. and to begin to perceive with enlightened eyes, the serious disadvantage they have so long been laboring under by pursuing the fallacious policy of slavery. These probable changes or circumstances are well worth the consideration & attention of the statesmen, the planters, and of the people of this Union generally, as well as of the West India Isles. It necessity, as some may pretend, forced or induced our forefathers to import laborers from Africa, that necessity has long since ceased, and we now have laborers of that description in abundance among us, and the question at this time is, which is the best way to employ them, as slaves

or as free men. Either way, we may suppose, is within our power. They are with us and must have subsistence; and for that subsistence we could as well have their labor in a state of freedom as in a state of slavery. We see no rational way of getting rid of them, even if it was the best policy to do so. They cannot leave us; they must work or suffer, and would it not be the best for us to act with them in a way whereby our interest may be combined with justice to them. By employing them as freemen, a great change would be effected in their sentiments, much in our favor. We should at once convert them from inveterate enemies, to friends, which would tend very much to the safety of the Union; and by their interests and prosperity being blended with our own, no dread of insurrections or commotions among them would disturb us. They would then look unto the whites as their employers, and not as their masters; and no inducement would arise for them to injure or destroy those who gave them subsistence, and through whom they enjoyed most of the necessities of life; and at the same time should it be found that the blessings of freedom, caused renewed animation, and induce them to do much more labour than in their present state of slavery, it would cause labor to be so plenty, that it could readily be procured at all times and upon all occasions, upon as low terms as could possibly be afforded by them, (viz.) a bare subsistence, with the exception of some few individuals among them more enterprising than their comrades. It is found by actual experience in the middle states, that every species of labor, however servile it may be, can readily be obtained from free blacks, and I suppose with taking every thing into consideration, upon quite as cheap, if not upon cheaper terms, than tho' these negroes were their slaves. If this is the case, why should we use coercive and arbitrary measures to obtain that which may so readily be had through free will? Hunger, and the want of the necessities of life, will operate much more powerfully than the lash.

There is a certain district of country in one of the Eastern States, where there are many free people of color and where the greatest part of the labor of the farms is done by these people; yet from the appearance of the country in the district, the thrift of the farmers, and the high state of cultivation to be observed there, we may readily conclude that the farmers of that country are in a much better situation than tho'

these people were their slaves. And why should it not be so, as they have their labor for maintaining them, and if they were their slaves they could have no more, and we may readily presume that these people of color can in their way of living bring up a family of children & maintain the aged much cheaper than we can under our direction.

Those who employ slaves, always have to pay in advance, either by purchase, or by bringing them up from childhood, with the risk of death, or of inability to labor, as well as of the risk of maintenance in advanced life, with the loss of the interest on the amount of the cost or value, of these slaves, whereas those who employ them as freemen only, pay as they go, or as the pay becomes due, without any advance or risk. And is it not worth a serious consideration whether the capital thus employed, cannot be invested to some better purpose; and whether we cannot have that very labor done for us without that advance. It seems plain to me upon a view of the subject under consideration, that as they are among us, as they must be fed, and must have clothing, and that their labor can be had, that it would be far more to our interest, and advantage, to employ them in a state of freedom, than in a state of slavery, and if more labour should be acquired from them voluntarily than by compulsion, that will be an additional gain to our country, and to the community at large.—

Perhaps some may be alarmed at any thing like an enquiry upon the subject that would lead to any change; but such I apprehend may lay all fears aside. Reflecting upon these probable and perhaps necessary changes and improvements, we do no harm, and if it should be found that we have been pursuing an expensive and unprofitable way of having our labor done, a change would be accomplished in a very gradual way. Indeed according to the nature of things, it would be gradual, as many among mankind are particularly attached to forms, ways and customs; and such would of course retain their slaves, while others would find it their interest to part with them by sale or emancipation; thus the change would be as gradual as the change in the sentiments, and as the pecuniary situation of the holders would permit. So much so, that no danger need be apprehended from too sudden or general emancipation.—Were I to anticipate my ideas of the progress of such a liberation of slaves, it would be as follows, (viz.) The most sagacious of our planters would follow the example of John Ran-

dolph & Judge Washington, by selling their slaves: such proceedings would soon be followed by others; this causing more sellers than buyers, would soon reduce the price, which circumstance would generally alarm those that held this species of property;—but observing a still farther decline in the price of slaves, some would make sales at those reduced prices, and others would hold on still longer. Indeed all would not sell for want of buyers; and thus the price would gradually decline until it became so low that little interest would exist in the mind respecting the possession of them, and then I presume some would be led to reason thus with themselves; wherefore do I thus trouble myself about it, as in reality I am not one cent the poorer for the change that has taken place; I can still have my work done by them, as well since their price has been reduced as before, or even should I liberate them I am yet none the poorer, as I can yet have my labor done by them or others, as though they were yet my slaves; all that can possibly affect me is the unnecessary expense I have been at on their behalf from time to time; and the loss of the first cost of these slaves together with the interest that might have accrued from this money, had it been placed to a better purpose; but notwithstanding, the payment of this purchase money, and the loss of the interest, I am still none the poorer on account of their liberation, as I can yet have the benefit of their labor with as little expense of hire as it before cost me to maintain them.

In an enquiry of this description into the comparative cheapness of labor done by slaves or freemen, I should suppose it would be proper to take into consideration the effects that each method has upon the general interests of mankind which if admitted to be correct, it would be proper to change as an expense to the State or District. The labor of such white part of the population is as lost to that District in consequence of those ideas or customs that arise from the circumstance of the labor being done principally by slaves, in addition to such lost labor, the cost and maintenance of all such useless and idle white inhabitants should be recorded, as well as the extra extravagance that naturally arises from leading an idle life, with taking into consideration the extra immorality of such as idleness is the parent of vice. But they are considerations more properly belonging to the statesmen who have the general good and interest of their country in view than simply to an

ENQUIRER,

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

FROM A FEMALE PEN.

I have been induced to pen a few lines for thy encouragement in the noble cause in which thou art engaged, (I mean the emancipation of the Africans in our country,) and recollecting that in every age those who had fortitude enough to oppose injustice, if it was not generally considered such by the community, have had the appellation of enthusiasts given them by those who ought rather to have considered the subject more candidly: but what is that to thee or me, if the end is accomplished for which we are laboring? We must expect to meet with opposition in this case, from those who are more disposed to live at ease in their ceiled houses, on the labor of the poor, than to commiserate their condition. But let us not forget it is honorable to stand alone in a good cause; and it is our reasonable duty so to do, in case none else are willing to engage therein. And I apprehend that that is what Moses in the law alluded to, when he commanded the Israelites, saying "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil," intimating *their example* would be no plea in our favor, but that we might rather be instructed thereby, to shun those things, following diligently the paintings of truth in our minds, for to our own master we are accountable, and by our own works we must stand or fall: being assured it is in vain to cry Lord, Lord, unless we do that which commands us. The Saviour saith: "If any man love me, he will keep my commandments." Again, "obedience is better than sacrifice; and to hearken, than the fat of rams." This is the path of the christian traveller, and no other can be walked in before God, with acceptance. What then must be the condition of such as profess to be his followers, and in works deny him?—Sitting at ease in Zion, resting in a state of self-security, seeking to remove far from them *every thing* that would have a tendency to disturb their peace, shutting their eyes to their Eternal interests hardening their hearts against the reproofs of instruction in the way to life; crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and putting him to open shame, by conduct inconsistent with the purity of the Gospel. Is not this the condition of many among us, engaged in the unchristian practice of making slaves of their fellow creatures as well as others? and for our conduct to whom are we accountable but to *Him* who hath declared himself a refuge for the oppressed?

I believe it morally impossible for a true christian to oppress a fellow creature wil-

fully, for as he dwelleth in love (for God is love) it will qualify him even to love such as might be accounted his enemies, and how much more, *those that never did him wrong?* Without this love what are we? If we love God above all, we shall love all his creation through him, and hence is begotten in the mind a sympathetic feeling in behalf of suffering humanity. I believe some masters of slaves oft times feel tender scruples with respect to holding them in that state, and would be willing to liberate them, if they could without involving themselves in much difficulty. The laws of some of the states of this Union require, in case masters liberate their slaves, they must be accountable for their misconduct, which I consider unscriptural and unconstitutional, because the Scriptures testify, "the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him; and their general tenour sufficiently evince that the righteous shall not bear the iniquity of the wicked. *Unconstitutional*, because unjust.—An offending citizen should never be called upon to answer for the crimes of those who are equally accountable to the laws of our country.

I have no doubt that the aforesaid law is a great object with some to the liberation of their slaves; yet I believe if those would dwell steadily under the exercise, their minds would gradually become so much redeemed from the world, that a resignation would be wrought in them to encounter difficulties. They would be weaned from the desire of making a great appearance in the world, or, of holding large estates, when by so doing, they practice that upon others, which they in a like situation, would not have done to them.

I many times feel a sympathy for such as find themselves encompassed with difficulties in this way, whether they have involved themselves therein, or, have been so placed by their ancestors, and I verily believe if such would simply attend to "the wonderful counsellor" in their minds, and not look so much at those seeming difficulties, or the examples of others, who perhaps are not faithful, that he who made a way for his people, even through the deep, when there appeared no way, is still able to provide a way for his ransomed and redeemed, and assuredly would teach them the manner in which they should walk, and they would find an ample reward for every little sacrifice. And whether they thought it best to remove into another country, or subject themselves to the penalty of that unjust law, which renders them accountable for their slaves' misconduct, I don't not but they

would find it is better to rest on the earth in peace, than on the softest bed with a troubled mind.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.

A few years since, a certain good old man, no matter in what part of our country, held a negro woman, as a slave, he had a child; and knowing slavery to be wrong, he took measures to emancipate her. He also gave her opportunities to work for herself to earn something to prevent her child from wearing the infamous badge of slavery. At length the old man died, and his two sons, the one a reverend divine, and the other a deacon, were appointed executors of his last will and testament. The first mentioned of the executors stood high in the estimation of the public, as a divine, but still, he was violently opposed to the emancipation of the woman, and employed an attorney to get the act of manumission set aside. He even took her money to pay the expenses &c.—Nor did their unchristian proceedings end here. When the executors made out an inventory of the property, belonging to the estate of their deceased father, they went into the negro house and took even the clothes which the woman before mentioned had earned by laboring, in many instances, from almost sundown to sunrise, notwithstanding the entreaties of their mother, who used every effort to prevent so outrageous a transaction!! Z.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.

The following item of news I find in a late newspaper:—

“Progress of Knowledge at St. Domingo.

There has been lately established at Port-au-Prince, another Academy, in which are taught all branches of medicine, jurisprudence, literature, the principles of astronomy, &c.”

Altho’ public opinion, and the prejudices of the whites generally, have been in some degree a barrier against an intercourse between the inhabitants of this government and scientific nations, and of course have operated much against their intellectual improvement; it appears that they are making advances in refinement scarcely paralleled by any people, in any age. It is but a short time since these same people were considered as deeply sunk in degradation as the slaves of our Southern States. It was not thought that even a spark of genius dwelt among them. But since they have become

free, talents equally shining with those of fairer complexion, have been found among the blacks. And from present appearance, it would not be surprising that in the course of an age or two the Europeans should be found courting the acquaintance of these people on account of their pre-eminence in the arts and sciences.

It must be pleasing to the mind of the philanthropist to see literary and scientific knowledge flourish any where; but it is particularly gratifying to observe it where it promises ere long to be a powerful instrument in the political and moral regeneration of a long degraded race. That this is and is yet to have that effect both by enlightening the minds of the blacks, and preparing them to take a dignified station among nations, and in divesting the white of their unfavorable opinions respecting their natural abilities for improvement, think the course they take will amply justify the conclusion. Already we find public sentiment is becoming softened toward them.

With these facts before us, we must conclude that it is not the colour of the skin but *liberty* that fits the soul for great actions. T.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.

For several months past, I have occasionally indulged myself in reflecting on some of the passing events of the times, that, comparing one thing with another, I might come to some conclusion what might be their probable issue. Of all the plans and schemes that have been pushed into operation, in this age of philanthropy and invention, there has none claimed a greater share of my attention, than those which have been set on foot in different parts of the union for promoting the amelioration of the enslaved Africans, and for effecting their final though gradual emancipation. The late energies of fellow feeling in the breasts of the humane in our country, seem, of late to have been aroused from the slumber of ages, and a spirit of sympathy for that part of the sun-burnt race, that have fallen victims to the unrelenting grasp of christian and republican avarice and cupidity, is rapidly spreading amongst the inhabitants of our extensive continent. The Abolition and Manumission Societies, which have been organized in several of the United States have certainly contributed largely by their various publications, to the diffusion of liberal sentiments among the citizens, by c

ing their attention more immediately to the subject. To those may be added, the very interesting speeches delivered in Congress hall, by some of the most worthy and able statesmen of the nation, in defence of the rights of the oppressed Africans.

These speeches, having been published to the world, have elicited much general information on the subject, and called forth the hitherto slumbering sympathies of hundreds into exercise,—though, at the same time, they have drawn down, not only on themselves, but on all the friends of Universal freedom, the fiercest ire of the votaries of absolute despotism. Through the instrumentality of the above institutions, speeches and publications, with other periodical writings on the subject, much light has been disseminated, and will still continue to be; and if humane exertions are assiduously persevered in, the gradual and total abolition of African slavery will be finally effected.

But should the above institutions all fail, —these congressional speeches be consumed by the *hot minds of the South*, and all the periodical publications be utterly “*crushed*” by the violence of tyrannical despots—there is yet one other plan (if not more) for effecting the freedom of Africans from perpetual bondage, which has long been in operation—not with any humane design in the agents, or from motives of the purest kind. This last named institution, from visible appearances, seems to be gaining strength with increasing rapidity in the slave States, and, not interrupted in its progress, must ultimately succeed in effecting the dissolution of African bondage; for slavery will, in time, be finally exterminated from the earth. This last plan, which for the want of a more appropriate term, I shall call the *whitening operation*, is said to be carried out with such avidity in the cities, towns, and even in the country, in most of the slave sections, that the danger of detection from certain signs, placed by some of the vigilant owners of slaves for that purpose, in the avenues of egress and regress, cannot prevent the zealous agents in the whitening scheme, from pushing their designs into execution, even behind the curtains of darkness, in the lonely hours of nocturnal gloom. As the *black skin and woolly head*, and the *fair skin and hairy head*, found attached to the human species, are the criterions by which some of the wisacres of America, judge of the rights of bondage or freedom; and as the sable complexion, and the kinky wool, are objects against which the pretend-

ed prejudices of some of the white advocates for slavery run so high, that they declare all those who are cursed with them, unfit for a state of freedom, yet it is quite probable, from the vast and increasing numbers of mulattoes, and other grades of color approaching still nearer to white, which are found amongst the slaves, that these prejudices are rapidly abating; and that the time is fast approaching, when the mask shall publicly be thrown off; & when it shall be esteemed as honorable by the respectables of the slave states, for white men to have colored wives, or white women to have coloured husbands, as it may be now, for some white men to keep colored concubines, or for a fair lady to keep a black gallant.

When I am travelling through the parts of the country abounding in slaves, and see the multitudes of mixtures that are swarming on every hand, I am led to the conclusion, that a decided preference is given by the whites to persons of colour, over those of their own complexion, or why would there not be as many illegitimates that were white, as there are of colored ones? Many of the descendants of Africans in our country have, doubtless, obtained their freedom through no other channel, than that of the *whitening operation*, and are enjoying all the immunities of full-blooded white citizens—the color having so completely run out, that no grounds for the claim of bondage is left; and it may possibly be that, amongst the high orders of the nation, there may be some men of this description. Should this plan succeed in gaining ground in future, as it has done for some time past, as it doubtless will, if not prevented by emancipation taking place in some other way, the white and black skins of the southern slave states, will, in time, be so completely blended, that both the light and the dark complexions will be measurably lost, and will finally terminate in a southern sun-burnt tawny, bordering on the fair, which will be esteemed white by the inhabitants. When all of them are of the same complexion; and then will each contend for the prerogatives of white men, and lay claim to freedom as their unalienable right.

But it appears, that the plans for the abolition of slavery, which have been adopted by the several Abolition and Manumission Societies on the continent; and the above *whitening operation* plan, unfortunately clash, and reciprocally act in opposition to each other's progress. In the states where the Abolition Societies have succeeded in any considerable degree in the emancipa-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

tion of slaves, mixtures but seldom occur, the two complexions remain, with a few exceptions, as they were from the beginning; because religion and morality, the guardians of chastity, discountenance the aforesaid illicit plan; so, on the other hand, in the states where the people are in the spirit and practice of the slave system, the *whitening* scheme is carried on more abundantly, and all other plans which have been adopted, are utterly rejected by them, and represented as being injurious to the community at large, and dangerous to the peace and safety of the nation.

The advocates for African slavery are, no doubt, aware, that should the emancipation of the blacks be effected by any other means than that of the *whitening operation*, that the chastity of the coloured females would be less liable to violation, and access to their embraces more difficult to be obtained than what they now are, and if such associations as these, are by any of them considered as belonging to their best and most pleasing privileges, it cannot be wondered at, that they persecute the advocates for the universal rights of man with such bitterness, for thus endeavouring to abridge them in their dearest enjoyments—calling them “British emissaries,” “parties in secret factions,” “enemies to government,” &c. as if slave holders alone were the only friends of the republic, when, without controversy, all those who are in the spirit of the system are the veriest enemies it has upon earth.

Such men should be well watched by every true republican, and if possible should be shut out from all participation in the public administrations of government. Some of them have publicly menaced a dissolution of the Union, should the friends of freedom not cease from vindicating the rights of the oppressed Africans, by which they have openly disclosed the cloven foot of their monarchical principles.

But to come to a close. What may be the final issue of these contending plans, I am, after all my researches, not able to divine;—African slavery, as I have above observed, will certainly, at some future day be totally exterminated from the fair fields of America; but whether it will be accomplished by the pacific means devised by the Abolition and Mission Societies, or by means of the *whitening operation*, either of which, if persevered in, would, doubtless, effect it, or whether in the dispensations of Providence, some other door for their deliverance may be opened, remains for time yet to determine.

PHILO HUMANITAS.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. THE MODERN LISTENER.

To *Inuendo*—EXTRA.

With you sir, I have had some serious thoughts on the Mission business; and my thoughts have also embraced Africa:—But I fear I have not been half as liberal as you are; for it seems you want all the missionaries to go there. This had not entered my mind; but upon second thoughts, I have no objection, at least to a very large number of them; for I am thinking there are many parts of the world, where many of those called missionaries are full and fat, that could do very well without them. But alas for Africa! there are three grand barriers against missionary efforts in that country—1. The privations that a missionary may expect to suffer in that country, perhaps will be greater than in any other foreign mission. 2—From the miserable, degraded situation of the blacks in our country, we whites have embraced an almost unconquerable prejudice against their colour in human shape; and therefore, I fear missionary zeal will never brook the idea of an association with such beings.—3—But such have been the murders, thefts, and other depredations committed & made on the coast of Africa by the whites, that the Africans have no confidence in them;—and I suppose that many hundreds of its innocent inhabitants would feel no more terror struck at the sight of an infernal than a white man.

By this time, *Inuendo* is ready to enquire what can or shall be done for them? I answer, first, let every government that is opposed to the horrid traffic in human souls, take and hang up along the coasts of Africa, a score or two of all such as are known to be concerned in the trade in any shape, with some such inscription over them as this, (viz:) “Here hang the men who acted contrary to the law of the great God of Heaven, and contrary to the law of nature, and all the special laws made and provided by our government for the prohibition of the traffic in souls; here hang the men whose hearts and principles had become so hard and vitiated, that we judged them no longer fit for human society: we hang them here as so many testimonials of our good will toward you Africans, and as an evidence to you that there are white men who do abhor and condemn the horrid deeds of those men who have stained your country with blood, and have broken the most sacred bands.” Let this be signed in behalf of the government who may have had the

monsters stretched. Some plan like this might go a great way to gain the confidence of the Africans. Secondly—Let all the collections, donations, &c. intended for missionary purposes, be divided into two just and equal parts; and I am thinking that if the missionaries of the present day are of the right stamp, and such as we read of in the Acts of the Apostles, one part will do for the foreign department of missions. Let the other part be appropriated to home missions. The propriety of a home mission must be acknowledged by every candid christian man, if he has the least spark of missionary zeal, when he takes into view the unreasonable, stupid, and debased situation that thousands of his fellow mortals are in on our continent. To rouse the latent sparks of sympathy and humanity in his soul, let him take a range through Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia &c. There he may find thousands of the sable inhabitants of Africa enveloped in ignorance, who know not the difference between moral good and evil; and from whom are withheld, every means of information relative to their duty to their Creator and Redeemer: and let him look, and ponder, and consult the most celebrated travellers, such as Bruce, Shaw &c. and ask if ever they met such a poor, miserable, forlorn people, in all their travels. True, some of these travellers tell us of the amazing superstition of the Hindoos, and of the avarice of the Arabs or Turks; and of the miserable & degraded state of the Greeks. But be it remembered, that the Hindoos are superstitious without divine revelation, and, the Arabs are avaricious, under the influence of a religion or principle that stands directly opposed to the religion of the blessed Jesus; and the sufferings and privations of the Greeks are from the hands of despots; and what we call infidel Turks.—But I ask from whom do the sorrows and woes of the sable descendants of Africa flow, in a land of Bibles, and boasted liberty, in a land where there are so many liberal institutions for the dissemination of useful knowledge? The answer is, “from those who are called christians.” The answer in this form, in the presence of a Turk or Hindoo, may serve as an apology for the oppression tolerated and exercised over the black people on our continent; and save Innocent from a mortifying blush.—Moreover, this way of answering may teach the Turk or Hindoo what Paul long since taught the gentiles, “not all that are called Israel, are Israel;” so not all who are call-

ed christians, are christians. But what can or shall be said as an apology for the wide spread tyranny and despotism exercised over the people of colour on our continent, on republican principles? To this, a shrewd politic slave holder, with the effrontery of a Pharaoh, or a Nero, and perhaps with as little regard to principles of propriety, justice and humanity, answers, “our mother country imposed them (the Africans) upon us; and as the evil did not originate with our government, we are not to blame.” **WONDERFUL ANSWER!** It is well if some do not take such a man for a Daniel or a Solomon, or at least think him fit to go to the State Legislature, or to Congress;—while a Turk or a Hindoo smiles in his sleeve, and a negro who has had half a chance of information, will tell him that if slavery is an evil contrary to first principles, no matter who imposed it upon us, we ought as an independent and free people to shake it off, as we have done other impositions and evils; and moreover, if the gentleman’s answer is a good apology for the continuance of slavery under a republican government, because that government found slaves in its country prior to its establishment; some such apology may be made (and it will be equally good) for every kind of vice that men are guilty of in our enlightened day. Hence if a missionary or minister of any description, reprove men for drunkenness, murder, adultery, &c. they may tell the minister that they found those vices in the world, and that our fathers and mothers committed the very crimes you have the effrontery to reprove us for. Again I conclude, if the gentleman’s answer, is admissible, it proves that the whole clerical order with all their institutions and battlements raised to throw down vice, is incorrect; at least, as much so, as some think those men are who are using every lawful means to rid our nation of one of the most serious evils wherewith a nation may be cursed. But this home mission! yes, yes! and the necessity and propriety of it, is founded not only on the miserable condition of the slaves in a moral point of view; but you must remember that the enslavers are only called christians, that is, they only have the name, but are not christians in reality;—and that they ever will, or ever can be any thing more than nominal while they hold their fellow mortals in a state of vassalage, is a point very much disputed by a large number of good men. Then I think it is high time our missionaries were at work, and I hope as men of God, they never wil

consider the end of their mission accomplished, until slaves and enslavers are not only nominal, but real christians. Now, if Inuendo will bear a little with me, I will give him a short sketch of a plan, for the home mission, which he may improve at his leisure. 1st. Let the missionary department lay off in parishes (say four or five plantations to compose a parish) in the bounds of the slave state. Secondly: Send two commissioners to each of these parishes. Thirdly: let there be a convenient house procured, where, on the Lord's day commonly called Sunday, let the missionaries collect the slaves of their parish, say at 10 o'clock, and keep them until one hour by sun—How the time is to be employed I leave with the wisdom of the missionary, but no white man or woman but the proprietors of the parish, or such as may assist in the duties of the day must be allowed to attend. Fourthly: The enslavers must come under missionary regulations, and no matter how soon they would become good christians, for in that case, they could very much assist the missionaries. Fifthly: The supposition is, that four plantations compose a parish: we will call them A, B, C, D; and E and F are the missionaries. Let E one week attend to the children of A and B; that is to say, let him on Monday attend to the children of A, and Tuesday to B's—let them be collected after an early breakfast, in order to teach them to read, &c. NOTE.—Missionary E will be at A's three days in the week, and at B's three days; and on those days, the hands must be gathered in once in the day for prayer; and at a seasonable time at night for the same purpose. Sixthly: Let the missionaries pay particular attention to these poor underling tyrants, who are called *Overseers*; and if their hearts can be tendered and brought to bow to the sceptre of Jesus, half the work will be done. Now sir, I am thinking a plan something like this, pursued a few years, there will be black men raised on some of those plantations that would do to send to Africa as missionaries.

In order to this, let one part of the home missionary fund be set apart to buy those christian black men of those who claim them, if the missionaries have not succeeded in making such claimers christians. But be this as it may, as men of this description, as we are informed, have been very liberal in their contributions for missionary purposes, we might calculate on a considerable abatement in the price of one designed for a missionary. But my fears are up, as the design

is to benefit black people. Inuendo, while you read you sigh and smile, and again appear thoughtful: But ultimately exclaim, "it will never do; not but the plan with some amendments might do well enough, and might be brought to bear in almost any other kingdom than ours." Inuendo, if what you have last stated be correct, it would seem that the laws of almost all other nations are more favorable to the missionary business than ours: and why it should be so I know not, unless it be because we are an inconsistent people.—And now, Inuendo, while it strikes my mind, I wish you would employ a man to paint or draw the American tree of liberty on 2, 3 or 4 sheets of paper: Let about one half of the tree be well covered with foliage, the other half as nipped with the frost and quite withered—and under the shade of that half covered with foliage, set the slave holders, with all their trappings and sumptuous fare; and under the other half, place the poor slaves with all their rags and coarse and scanty fare, and the overseer and sometimes master; yes, & tender-hearted mistress slipping among them with the cowhide, &c. This tree will unravel the secret, and give the cause why we are not in favor of missionary efforts amongst our slaves. I shall conclude with observing, that a word to the wise is enough. Adieu. M. L.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO THE EDITOR.

A writer in a late Number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, has the following—

"If these objects do not excite our compassion and make us resolve no more to buy, sell, and use luxuries produced by slaves in distress, let us for a moment, suppose that our near and dear relations, fathers, mothers, wives, husbands or children, were the objects of this unparalleled cruelty—that they were torn from our bosoms by some inhuman monster and taken to an adjacent country, or neighboring plantation, and there forced to undergo all the complicated miseries of a cruel bondage, would we buy and use the proceeds of their labor, and so pay those monsters for their cruelty, exercised upon our dearest friends: Nay surely we would not. Then how are we living up to the golden rule of doing to others, as we would that they should do unto us in like circumstances. Some indeed will say, we pay honestly for our goods and are not concerned to know how they are procured. Nay, surely, but we are concerned, or

ought to be, to know that they are not stolen goods. Be ye therefore entreated, candid readers, to examine the matter impartially, and be willing to undergo some privations that we may be innocent of the blood of our fellow-creatures, for the sweets they make seem to be stained with human blood. If after all that has been, or can be said on the subject, we cannot extend our compassion to the distressed sons & daughters of Africa, if we have no feeling for their sorrows, their sufferings and complicated woes, how can we with joy anticipate the day when Princes shall come forth out of Egypt, and Ethiopia stretch out her hands to God; or how can we hope to escape the woe pronounced against him that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him nought for his work."

The foregoing we admit to be good, very good doctrine; and it would be well for us all to endeavor to put the same in practice. But let us be uniform in all we do. I ask friend "HONESTY" if he does or does not swallow his daily portion without salt, lest it may be stained with the blood of the poor slaves who work the salt manufactory not far distant? An answer is looked for.

A Friend to Honesty.

From the Friend of Peace.

DENUNCIATIONS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

The following paragraphs have been extracted from the Hon. Daniel Webster's Discourse, delivered at Plymouth on the commencement of the third century from the landing of our forefathers in New-England:—

"As far as experience may show errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them; and if any practices exist, contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, within the reach of our laws or our influence, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them.

"I deem it my duty on this occasion to suggest, that the land is not yet wholly free from the contamination of a traffic, at which every feeling of humanity must forever revolt—I mean the African slave trade. Neither public sentiment, nor the law, has hitherto been able entirely to put an end to this odious and abominable trade.

"In the sight of our law, the African slave-trader is a pirate and a felon; and in the sight of heaven, an offender far beyond the ordinary depth of human guilt.

"If there be, within the extent of our knowledge or influence, any participation in this traffic, let us pledge ourselves here, up-

on the rock of Plymouth, to extirpate and destroy it. It is not fit, that the land of the pilgrims should bear the shame longer.

"I hear the sound of the hammer, I see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. I see the visages of those, who, by stealth, and at midnight, labor in this work of hell, foul and dark, as may become the artificers of such instruments of such misery and torture.

"Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New-England. Let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it.

"I invoke the ministers of our religion, that they proclaim its denunciation of these crimes, and add its solemn sanctions to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent whenever, and wherever, there may be a sinner bloody with this guilt, within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust."

Looking over a periodical paper a few days since, I observed the following.—And has it indeed, come to this? Yes, it is literally true, but we are ashamed to tell it.

G. H. E.

"MISSIONARY FIELDS.—*These are becoming sabre sources of revenue to the missionary cause in the southern states.*"

[P] These missionary fields are no doubt cultivated by NEGRO SLAVES.—It is against the law in some of these states to teach a slave to read. The following narrative is not an imaginary one. M— of — directed a missionary field to be cultivated by his slaves. By the sweat and toil of enslaved negroes, goaded to labor by the lash of an overseer, he raised, or grew as the phrase is, a large quantity of cotton & tobacco. He "*devotes it to the Lord,*" and his name appears in the Missionary Herald under the head of "Donations to the A. B. C. F. M.—Avails of a missionary field, by A. B. of —, \$200." A slave is a slave, whether on the Ganges or the potomac, and a Pharisee is a Pharisee, whether living on the banks of the river Jordan or James. Enough!]

IMPORTANT DECISION.

Philadelphia, August 18.

By a local law in South Carolina, the harbor master of Charleston "is directed to require all masters of vessels to report, im-

mediately on their arrival at that port, the names of all passengers, whether they be whites or free persons of colour, in any capacity on board. The law is highly penal, and directs that no free negro or person of colour, who shall have left the state, shall be suffered to return; that no vessel shall come into any port or harbor of South Carolina from any other state or foreign port having on board any free negroes or persons of color as cooks, stewards, mariners, or in any other employment on board, without being liable to be seized and confined in goal, until the vessel shall clear out and depart from the state; and when the vessel is ready to sail, the captain shall be bound to carry away the said free negro or free person of colour, and pay the expenses of his detention; and in case of his neglecting to do so, he shall be liable to be indicted, and on being convicted, he shall be fined in a sum not less than \$1000, and imprisoned not less than two months. And such free negroes or persons of color shall be deemed, taken, and sold as absolute slaves.

A note from the Editor of the Charleston City Gazette, dated the 7th inst. informs the Editor of the Franklin Gazette, that Judge Johnson of the Supreme Court of the United States had that day declared this law to be "unconstitutional and void, and subjecting all persons making arrests under it, to an action for trespass."

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

THE WEARY NEGRO—A Dialogue.

Still in thought as free as ever,
What are England's rights, I ask?
Me from my delight to sever;
Me to torture and to task.
Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim:
Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in white and black the same.
Negro, is thy labour ended
In the parched and burning ground?
By the vesper star befriended,
Art thou to thy cottage bound?
Yes, kind massa, night has freed me
From de drudging toils of day:
I will to my cabin speed me,
Dere my weary body lay.
Negro is thy treatment cruel?
Is thy master kind or not?

Hast thou food enough, or do ill
Overseers oppress thy lot?
Art thou easy and contented—
Satisf'd to be a slave?
Hast thou ever yet repented
Crossing the Atlantic wave?
Easy! dat be great ting, massa:
Negro easy, cannot be,
While de white man makes us passa
Life of pain and misery.
Back is whipp'd and food is scanty—
One poor quart of corn a day.
Though we labor, sweat and panta
In de sun's consuming ray.
Can poor negro cease to sorrow,
When his wife and children rise?
Snatch'd perhaps before to-morrow
From his arms and longing eyes?
Black man, do thy hardships never
Make thee think of God above?
In thy sorrows dost thou ever
Dread his vengeance, ask his love?
Yes good massa, dat be truly
In my thoughts, both night and day;
Yet poor Cato has but newly
Known *de narrow blessed way*.
Tho' de white man whip and strike us,
When we faint beneath our toil;
Still de gracious Saviour like us,
Make de negro bosom smile.
Tell me, Cato, who has taught thee,
Jesus died a world to save?
Surely not the wretch who bought thee,
Or convey'd thee o'er the wave.
No, no, massa, dey were bad men,
And would fight, and curse, and swear;
Sing, and drink, and shout like mad-men;
But dey never made a prayer.
De poor negro wrapt in blindness,
Hardly know a God above:
Till de Missionary's kindness
Point us to a Saviour's love.
Dey proclaim a bleeding Jesus,
Who for negro shed his blood;
Who from sin and Satan freed us,
And can do poor negro good.
Sweet de Sabbat, for 'tis bringing
Day of rest, to worship God:
Sweet de preaching, sweet de singing,
For it does poor Cato good.
Now I feel amidst my troubles,
Many a drop of sweet delight;
To de world and all its bubbles,
Cato long has bid good night.
Dis does lighten Cato's sorrows,
Sweetens all his burning toil;
When he hoe de corn to-morrow,
Den de loving Saviour smile.

From the Liverpool Mercury.

SLAVERY.

From western India's fertile soil,
Before the eternal throne,
Signed out by thousands as they toil,
Ascends the negro's groan.
Beyond the Andes' snowy bound,
In rich Potosi's mines,
Immur'd beneath the cavern'd ground,
The wretched bondsman pines.

And when the dark Levantine wave
Assails the Lybian shore,
In bitter toil the galley slave
Still labours at the oar.

From every clime beneath the skies,
Profan'd by slavery's chain,
The prayers of captive millions rise,
And shall they plead in vain?

Shall man, of little power possess'd,
His fellow-worm enthrall?
And rudely from his brother wrest
A blessing—given to all.

Yes! thus it is: yet not unpaid
His tyranny prevails;
And all his barbarous deeds are weighed
In Heaven's unerring scales.

And when the dark and silent grave
Its gloomy jaws shall close,
And the stern master and his slave
Alike in dust repose;

Each bursting sigh, each bitter tear,
Each bosom's tortured beat,
Shall then in black array appear
Before the judgment seat.

Then tremble, tyrant of the day,
And shudder at thy doom;
For know, vain man, thy little sway
Is ended in the tomb.

That home, the wretched slave implores,
A tenement of rest,
That leads unto those smiling shores—
The islands of the blest!

From the Wilmington, Ohio, Galaxy.
TREATISE ON SLAVERY.

AN ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE
WORLD.

STRIKE up the lyre O! thou Aonian maid,
Conduct my feet to yonder mossy glade;
Inspir'd by heaven's almighty just command
Let nature as a faithful witness stand.

Did the great God command his saints of old,
Their fellow-men in slavery to hold;
Or did he say oppress the stranger not
Or has he yet his great decree forgot,
Or will he scatter blessings as a flood,
On you who traffic in your brother's blood

No—his decree is still the same as then:
He is respecter of no race of men;
But all as one are equally the same,
Are but distinguished by another name—
By him alone equality is given
For every race to share a bounteous heav'n;
This life is short and is uncertain too,
Eternity appears in open view; [rod;
Then clear your hands—lay down the iron
Relieve the poor, prepare to meet your God;
In his right hand he holds the peaceful crown,
And in his left, great honor and renown.
Let billingsgate be shut, the Lord adore;
Let human blood be traffick'd in no more;
'Tis absonant to think the Lord will save
The tyrant master of the way-worn slave;
Methinks I hear the weary Ethiop* say:
When will my Saviour take my soul away?
When will this tyrant cease to scourge me so,
And trace himself the plough-tail & the hoe?
This mistress ruling with an iron rod,
Return and live and seek the face of God.
When will she help me to fulfil my doom,
In the illustrious labors of the loom?
Let ev'ry nation now espouse their cause,
And try to free them by the civil laws;
Let loose the bonds of the oppressed ones,
Relieve his daughters & his way-ward sons!
Say, has he not a precious soul to save,
Or will, in heav'n thy brother be thy slave?
To the Great God now consecrate your days,
And rest within the city gates of praise;
Or dost thou deem to rest beneath the sod,
Cast from thyself this dream & know thy God
As nature speaks one universal praise,
Let thy aspiring tongue, his praises raise.
Why parleying here! O! muse what canst
thou do?

The harvest great, & laborers are few?
The heav'ns shall waste, the earth shall pass
away;

But here's the words of the great Lord of
day:

My sons I'll bring from far, & daughters too
Though Jordan rages, yet I'll bring them
through!

Now fix'd his word, this is his great com-
mand,

That at the bar I'll make the sinner stand;
Arise and free them, you who know their
woes,

The pious sons shall blush, whose fathers
were their foes. J. H.

TERMS.

Published monthly, at *One Dollar* per an-
num, payable in advance. The difficulty
in collecting small sums at a distance ren-
ders a strict adherence to this rule necessa-
ry.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 6. VOL. III.

TENTH MONTH, 1823.

WHOLE No. 34.

The editor having been from home upwards of two months, on a long journey, this Number makes its appearance somewhat out of the regular order of time; and for the same reason, the next will, also, be issued a little after the proper period.

REPUBLICANISM—SLAVERY!

How extremely improper it appears, at first blush, to couple these words together! What a jarring discord in the sound, and how widely different is their meaning!—The principles they designate are, in fact, the very antipodes of each other. The one is an emanation of true Christianity, but the other sprung from the infernal regions.

I have observed some attempts made at a new classification of politicians in the United States of late, by which the members of the old "republican party" are mostly claimed as the advocates of a continuance of the system of negro slavery. To many persons, any remarks on this subject would seem altogether superfluous; but I trust that I shall be able to shew, in the sequel, that they may not be entirely useless, or unnecessary, however absurd the idea may seem in the abstract.

It is asserted in the first place, that the original proposition to limit or check the spread of slavery in the Southwestern Territories of this Union came from a "*Federal*" source, and the attempt made to accomplish it is to be viewed as a *Federal* measure.

Secondly—That as the "republican party," at several successive periods, supported the nomination of slave holding candidates for the Presidency, it must, of course, favour the continuance of the system.

And, thirdly—That several of the old republican Presses in the free states refused to aid in limiting slavery, and are at this time advocating the election of slave holding candidates to the presidency of the United States, while a most sterling republican, who is a non-slaveholder, is a candidate for the office. This, it is thought, will establish the fact beyond cavil or doubt.

Now altho' I do not profess to be as well acquainted with the old "political landmarks" as many others, who have greatly the advantage of me in respect to age, still, as I have been a decided advocate of re-

publican measures, and have uniformly voted and acted with the republican party for more than fifteen years, I feel unwilling to hear such aspersions cast upon many of my political friends, knowing, as I do, that they are, in the main, extremely inapplicable. It must be acknowledged that a few of the "republicans" have acted most unaccountably strange as regards the system of slavery; and it may be that a small portion have been governed by impure motives. *Some who have long been in the habit of office-seeking, at the "Federal City," have probably been too familiar with the outrageous practice of slave holding, altho' they may not have participated in it, and have become in a greater or less degree contaminated by its deleterious and heart-corrupting influence—And this may be ever expected to be the case while it is tolerated at the seat of government.*

In my next I shall give my views of the subject more at length, believing it to be well worthy the attention of the friends of emancipation, generally.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

While contemplating what may be the fatal consequence, and ultimate end, should we continue to tolerate slavery in this land of liberty—I say while meditating on these things, I am induced to say something in defence of the cause of freedom.

I would wish to call the attention of my fellow citizens to the deplorable situation of the people of colour in the United States of America, and if possible to convince them, that while we tolerate slavery, and perpetuate its existence in our nation, that we are acting contrary to our best, and what ought to be our greatest interest.—While we live in the spirit and practice of slavery, we are violating the sacred mandates and injunctions of the Almighty, who has commanded us to relieve the oppressed and distressed, to undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. Slave holding is in direct opposition to these injunctions, and by it we invoke the wrath and heavy judgments of the Governor of the universe on our nation.

How long will ye suffer yourselves to be blinded by the god of this world? How

long will ye turn a deaf ear to the cries of the distressed? know ye not that judgements are abroad in the land? Have ye not prescience enough to see that unless a reformation takes place, that slavery is preparing frequent and dangerous convulsions for the republic at some future period, perhaps not far distant? The volcano, like that of Mount *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*, only sleeps for a while, to burst at last with more terrible fury on the self-secure and unsuspecting. Because judgement is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the strait, and equity cannot enter. The Lord looks for judgement, but behold oppression, for righteousness, but behold a cry. Yes, the cries of the oppressed have reached the heavens, and I verily believe there is now an impetuous storm of divine wrath lowering over the nation on account of wickedness and oppression. The bed of oppression is too short, they cannot stretch themselves in it; and their covering is too narrow, they cannot wrap themselves in it.

Under the Mosaic dispensation, he that stole a man and sold him, or if he was found in his hand, was put to death. If slave holding was a criminal act, worthy of death, under that comparatively dark dispensation, can it be less criminal under the christian dispensation? Will not every candid and judicious person say that it ought to be entirely abolished?

O christendom! wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou mayst be saved!—How long shall thy vain thoughts dwell within thee? How long shall oppression dwell within thy borders.

The tongue of the oppressor is like unto an arrow, shot out full of deceit; one speaketh peaceably to his neighbor with his mouth, but in his heart he layeth wait.—Shall not I visit them for these things? saith the Lord of hosts. Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this? May we not with propriety adopt the language of Cowper when he says,

“Is there not some chosen curse,
Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man
Who gains his fortune from the blood of
souls?”

That slavery is wrong, ought to be written on every heart, because by it every affection of the soul is almost exterminated; it severs all natural ties, and separates all social relations; when it commands, matrimonial engagements must be dissolved; by it, parents and children are separated, and

the chain that links them together is shivered to atoms by its touch! Hearts animated and united by the most tender and delicate love, must be torn asunder. Ah! reader, picture to yourself for a moment their deplorable situation; turn the glass and imagine yourself in their stead. Do you not shudder at the idea? Who among us would not think death a refuge? Then do unto all men as you would they should do unto you. But as one observes, it would look like a useless thing for it to be written on slaveholders' hearts that slavery is wrong, because they but seldom look to their hearts, and are not acquainted with the plague thereof. Perhaps were it engraven on the drinking glasses, or on those scraps of painted paper called cards, it would be seen more frequently, by, at least, some of them. But hush, you touch a tender place. An eminent author observes, the horrid business of slavery in the whole of its establishment, is founded on the Mammon of unrighteousness, and selfish love of the world, which indeed I think is perceivable without the aid of spectacles; and every principle belonging to it is founded upon injustice.

Awake, my countrymen, it is high time we should arouse from our sleeping lethargy, and shake off the shackles of tyranny, and let the time past suffice for us to have wrought the will of the gentiles. We must discard the practice, and turn from our iniquity, or we may fearfully anticipate, that he who holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, and walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, will come unto us quickly, and will remove our candlestick out of his place except we repent. I say unless we avert the threatened calamity by speedy repentance, we may look forward and tremble, for “the axe is laid at the root of the tree,” and without we reform, we may expect they will ere long be “hewn down and cast into the fire;” “for his fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner, but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.” He himself has told us that the gate is strait and the way is narrow that leadeth to life, and that there are but few that find it. And I do verily believe that the way to heaven is so narrow that it is not possible that a man can walk in it loaded with the gain of oppression. The Saviour of the world said to the young man that wished to know what he might do to inherit eternal life, “Sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, then shalt thou have treasure in heaven.” He also has said,

"how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God."

It is quite common to hear slaveholders and their abettors say, that the emancipation of the slaves cannot be accomplished; and I have no doubt it is their ardent desire that it never may. Yet we do not at all feel discouraged while we see the heaven born cause of freedom advancing, and we rest assured on good authority that the power that is for us is mightier than all that can combine against us. Petty tyrants, kings and monarchs, may strain every nerve, and exert every faculty in support of their favorite system, which a number of them hold dearer than life itself, yet it will finally fall, and its friends and supporters will fall with it, to rise no more, because God hath said the oppressor shall cease.

A few centuries ago, oppression was not generally looked upon in so glaring a light as at the present day; the times of our ignorance God winked at, but he now commandeth all men every where to repent.—Rays of divine light are now emanating from the upper worlds—the light is beginning to break forth in the dark places, even to them who sit in the region and shadow of death, light has sprung up. For lo! a political star hath appeared, and is proclaiming in a language too loud not to be heard, and too plain not to be understood, that freedom is the natural birthright of all mankind.

The good and pious of the earth; the friends of liberty, the advocates of justice and humanity, are rallying round the standard of liberty, in order to undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. The scales are falling fast from the eyes of a great portion of the human family, and men are coming out boldly in defence of the rights of man.

JUVENILE PHILANTHROPIST.

Approved by the Inspecting Committee of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, August 19th, 1823.

STEPHEN BROOKS, Ch'm.

T. DOAN, Clk.

THE CLERGYMAN AND HIS SLAVE.

A clergyman, in Connecticut, during the revolutionary war, manifested on all occasions his zeal in the cause of freedom and his country; but, who, at the same time, held in bondage a negro named Jack. To contend for liberty and hold the poor African in slavery, was, according to Jack's conception of right and wrong, a manifest inconsistency.—Under this impression and

anxious to obtain that liberty which is the inherent and natural right of man, Jack went to his master, one day, and addressed him in the following manner.—"Massa, I observe you always keep preaching about liberty, and praying for liberty, and I love to hear you, sir, for liberty be a good ting;—You preach well, and you pray well, but one ting, Massa, you remember,—poor Jack be no free yet." Struck with the propriety and force of Jack's admonition, the clergyman, after a momentary pause, told Jack if he would behave well in his service for one year longer, he should be free.—Jack fulfilled the condition, obtained his freedom, and became a man of some property and respectability.

[*I know a clergyman residing not far from this place, who has lately PURCHASED A SLAVE!—G. U. E.*]

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The following article was sent to the editor of the Emancipator, about the time of his decease, for publication. Believing the sentiments contained in it worthy the attention of an enquiring people, I should be pleased to see it inserted in thy paper.

L.

THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY

FOR BECOMING A MEMBER

OF THE

Manumission and Colonization Society,

RECOMMENDED BY HIM

TO HIS FRIENDS, AND ALL CHRISTIAN PROFESSORS FOR EXAMINATION AND SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

Manumission, as a necessary consequence, always preceding Colonization.

I have been often deeply concerned for the oppressed African race; and, when their way to liberty appeared very gloomy I heard the Manumission Society was forming in the county of Guilford, N. C. which, though well pleasing to me, did not create in my mind an expectation that it could alter their condition shortly, but I believed it was the right way to effect a gradual emancipation, and that it would soon, in some measure, alleviate the situation of many who groan unheard by the ear of humanity, both in the cradle and in the field.

Shortly after the society was formed I understood that it was increasing fast, and, though I perceived there was considerable public anxiety concerning what would be the issue, yet I had no expectation that the matter affected me.—I had my friends to converse with; we were clear of slave-hold-

ing; and we were not the cause of their sufferings; and for my own part I have ever been opposed to receiving any profit from their labour, unless they were paid due wages for the same: so I concluded that I had nothing more to do than to wish *success to the cause*, and then remain neutral. But I was not suffered to enjoy quietude of mind in this self-conceited security—for when meditating on the purity of Christian principles (in which it is the desire of my heart ever to be found willing) and viewing the subject as connected with them, I plainly perceive the good Samaritan, with my excuse, might have passed by the wounded Jew who had fallen among thieves, he being clear of the Jew's distressed condition; and moreover if the Jew had been able to have helped himself, he would not have suffered his body to have been defiled by the hands of the Samaritan, because there appears to have been no lawful intercourse between the people of Samaria and the Jews. The priest and the Levite passed him, and only looked on him—but as soon as the Samaritan saw his fellow creature in distress, he conferred not with flesh and blood, but obeyed the Spirit of Christ in his own bosom instigating him to do unto the stranger that which he desired should be done for him under the same circumstances:—yea, we behold in him Christian humanity, we behold him alighting from his beast, and assisting the poor stripped and wounded Jew to sit thereon, walking himself although it was a place of robbers, and to all appearance dangerous: yet these things did not prevent him from discharging his duty, nor would they have been any excuse in case he had omitted it. It is not difficult to know our duty in such cases, nor to discover what we would another should do for us in the same situation. Arrived at the inn we find he called the host &c. having delivered the wounded man to him, he charged him to take care of him; and, having paid the money then required, left the place, stating that he would pay all further charges on his return. In this occurrence, that which appears a useful lesson, is to observe the priest and Levite passing their afflicted brother and giving him no assistance. Possibly these men regarded him with a degree of common pity, and the cause of their not aiding him was, not from a *want of good will* (in the common way of speaking with us) but from their apprehensions about their personal safety, in a situation so dangerous, which prevented their taking care of him: and, perhaps, giving their minds ease by

the usual method of reasoning, that as they were not the cause of his suffering, they could not be accountable, and not being bound by the same law that the Samaritan was, who, I believe expected not to be judged by the *good will*, but by the *deed done in the body*.—To return, I perceived that this construction might have been put upon my conclusions; namely: since I had not been a means of their servitude, I would not be a means of their restoration to liberty. This, with a few, may appear reasonable, but it did not bear weight with me. I believe the case was, that I had kept the matter at too great a distance from me, and I believe it is the case with too many at this day. I had not endeavored to bring myself to the test, nor to examine what a Christian's duty was in such a situation. I had not, in thought, placed myself in their stead to endeavour to feel the enormous weight of my soul's affliction and the extent of its degradation. I had not considered my children torn from me and sold in Georgia or Alabama, or the husband of my daughter seized, sold and conveyed to the one or the other of those places: and, after arriving there, escaping from his tyrants, and having returned in safety to his wife and children, behold their joy at meeting so unexpectedly; and witnessed the despair occasioned them by his being retaken, handcuffed, chained, severely beaten, because natural affection had instigated him to return to those objects which were dear to him as life; and he, in despite of all intreaties in his behalf, separated from them and prevented ever returning to them, or even hearing what had become of them. Such, I have frequently known done to the people of colour; but I had no thought it would be done to me or mine: I knew it could not, there existed a law to protect us. It is no small part of our work to be brought under this close examination. We have no belief that such a traffic will ever take place in our families, if we did, surely our voices would be heard pleading their cause. Let us in idea, place ourselves in their situation, should we not be confounded to see Christians of every denomination so backward to advocate our cause: should we not cry out, they do not lay it to heart, or they would effect something for our relief. We have no voice; if we plead our right to liberty we receive abuse; no one listens to our supplications; nor does any advocate our cause in equity; we are beaten at discretion by wicked task-masters, our wives are not permitted to pay those attentions to their

Fit Justitia Ruit Caelum.

infants which their helpless age requires: no—they are left suffering with hunger; naked amidst dirt and flies; trusted with those who by reason of their infancy, are incapable of attending to them; their feeble screams disregarded by their cruel oppressors; and if sick unto death, we have only the pecuniary interest of our masters as the pledge of our lives.

The above description, I trust, will not be disputed or denied by any who are acquainted with the treatment the slaves receive in our country. Wide indeed is the difference between our circumstances in life and theirs, although we are frequently heard to complain that we labor under many difficulties. By whom are these things to be pondered? Certainly by the followers of the Prince of Peace who lay under the obligations of their faith, to suffer with the afflicted. For what purposes were their understandings enlightened, but to perceive every obstacle to the Dominion of Christ, and to use the means and talents bestowed upon them for their removal? And not trust merely to the *good will* they have for righteousness and justice. Christians can only expect to be rewarded according to the deeds done in the body.

Under these considerations, I found myself a manumission member, and my extent of aiding in the cause of suffering humanity is bounded only by my ability.

On the subject of colonization, there appears to be difference of opinion. It is truly an important subject. For my part I can state, that as I am fully persuaded emancipation originated from Divine Wisdom, so I trust that the same unerring guide will open a way for that people's preservation in this matter; and confidently believe, that they who wait on God for right direction, in this, as in all other works of righteousness, will be favored with it.

I do not feel free to project or plan any method by my own wisdom, but only to state, that I am humbly thankful for having lived to see the day in which the Lord has been graciously pleased to influence so many of different denominations of Christians, to stand forth and plead for universal justice: inclining numbers to bestow large and liberal donations for the relief of those poor distressed exiles, from off whose necks Christianity has broken the yoke of bondage, and made way for their return to their native and longed-for home; with glad tidings of great joy to many that sit in darkness, causing Ethiopia to stretch forth her hands unto God.

I believe it is the Divine Will, to begin, in this generation, to civilize those wretched African nations, which have so long prayed on their own people with such unparalleled brutality, and to such extent that millions of their population groan, in other parts of the world, under that cruel bondage to which they have consigned them. Yea! I believe it is the will of the Righteous Judge to civilize them, instrumentally, by their own sons and daughters, whom he has chosen in the land of their captivity, where he has caused many of their oppressors to become able advocates for them: verily I believe it is the work of Him who alone knoweth how to bring good out of evil and to be found by them who seek him not.

Read and approved in General Association of the Manumission and Colonization Society of North Carolina, held at Deep River Meeting House, in Guilford County, the 30th of the 10th month, 1820, and directed to be forwarded on to the Editor of the *Emancipator* for publication.

JOHN STUART, *President*.

AARON COFFIN, *Secretary*.

AN ADDRESS

To the Jefferson Branch of the Manumission Society of Tennessee.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS.

I hope there is not a member of this Society but who is thoroughly convinced of the practice of slavery being inconsistent with law and justice, and that the people of colour, as they are now held amongst us, are bereft of rights most sacred and inviolable. They are not only deprived of the rights of citizenship, but their marriage rights, if by such they are bound, are, as it were, trodden under foot, and their natural affection disregarded.

They are in a great measure, denied the use of letters, and I might say, all other means of mental improvement. It is true, some slaves are allowed to attend on the preaching of the Gospel, but there are exceptions, for while a large portion of these unhappy mortals are kept in abject nakedness, and are not fit to appear off their master's farm, others, for the want of early instruction in the principles of morality and religion, do not know that it is essential, and therefore do not seek after it. And why is all this?—O! says the master, or monster, I should have said, this is to prevent them from assuming that which does not belong to them. But the more certainly to effect this object, they are tasked, whipped, and for the most trivial offence,

denied the support of nature. The stripping is allowed to wreath the cowhide in the blood of his father and mother in age, to prevent what they call impertinence. Thus the demon of cruelty is cherished in the breast of the young tyrant, perhaps by a parent who is in possession of the same spirit, until he is prepared to separate husband and wife, parents and children, without the least remorse of conscience. Might not our sable brethren with propriety cry out in accents like these: "O America! thou that art exalted above all other nations in point of liberty, both civil and religious; thou, whose constitution and declaration of rights, secure the freedom and equality of thy sons and daughters—why this paradox,—why are we, the coloured part of thy population, thus tortured and degraded under the iron yoke of bondage? If we were taken by the sordid hand of avarice, and brought bound from our native country, where we might else have been free and independent, why do not our shackles fall the moment we land on the shores of America?—and why no friend to plead our cause?"

"Instead of calling a council for our relief, we are mounted on the stage and sold to the highest bidder—instead of the serene countenance, and soft words of a friend to soothe our sorrows and cheer our hearts, in this deplorable situation, we meet, not only with frowns and threats but are driven under the lash, down to the habitations of cruelty, forsuch they prove to be." And from whence is the warrant by which these unhappy mortals are bound and degraded?—Was it decreed in the unerring councils of Heaven, that such a portion of the human family should be thus degraded and tortured by another? NO; for we are commanded by the divine governor, to do to all men, even as we would they should do unto us; in which command, I conceive, the enslaving of men to be expressly forbidden.

Does the constitution of the United States afford us any warrant? I presume it does not; for in that constitution, the very rights of which those unhappy beings are bereft, are secured to them—to wit: *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.* But what is the voice of the advocate for slavery? Is it not something like this:—America would have been better off if there had never been slave in it; and some of them will acknowledge further: that it was injustice first brought them here; but, say they, what shall we do with them? It would never do to set them free, amongst us,—there would immediately be a mixture of

blood, and the free of our country would be exposed to their ravages; I will therefore hold my slaves until provision is made to rid them from amongst us. Well, if the enslaving of Africans was wrong in the beginning, and the continuation of injustice for many years does not make it justice, then the argument of the slave holder amounts to this:—"I will live in the continued commission of a known crime;—I will bereave my brother of every thing that is sacred to him on earth, to prevent a supposed evil from coming on my neighbor."

Another formidable objection that supreme selfishness suggests, is, that the Africans are a stupid kind of people that cannot be taught any thing—are not susceptible of improvement, and therefore, they are not fit to become citizens. But let these people be placed on the common footing of humanity—let us see them applying all their ardour to the maintenance of wives, and feeding their own flock, and having their time at their own disposal: is it not supposeable that this would change the scene materially? Observation proves to us that it would; for there are but few instances of slaves, who are either set free by their masters, or by charity, coming to sufferance, either for want of industry, or sense to manage their own business.

Approved by the Jefferson branch of the M. S. of Tennessee, and directed to be sent to the Inspecting Committee.

JOHN SWAIN, *Clerk.*

August 19th, 1823.

Approved by the Inspecting Committee and ordered to be published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.*

STEPHEN BROOKS, *Ch'm.*

Attest.

T. DOAN, *Clerk.*

From the Ohio Interior Gazette.

WHO IS TO BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT?

The discussion of this question begun early this time; and it is right it should, to enable the people to form an opinion respecting the qualifications of candidates.

I do not pretend to know who is the most suitable person; but I think officers of government ought to be *law-abiding* men; and I think laws made to enslave men without their own consent or default are void, because they are repugnant to the divine law solemnly agreed to in the declaration of independence on which our government is founded: and I also think any man holding another man in slavery when he has as good

a right to freedom as himself, lacks, at least, one very important qualification for a president of a republican government; and whatever his other qualifications are, he ought to lack the suffrage of every sincere republican. Every man of sense enough for a president of the United States knows that if his neighbor or a foreigner would enslave him without any better right than arbitrary force, he would consider the original aggressor, as well as the subsequent holder of himself and his children, no more honest than a pirate or robber; and yet it is astonishing to observe that slave holders are placed at the helm of the government of our long boasted land of liberty, by the people who would count slave holding one of the blackest crimes if it was on the other side.

I do not know how to believe that such of the people of Ohio as try to promote slave holders to offices are real republicans.

It is gratifying to understand that slavery is prohibited by law in the new republic of Mexico. It is hoped that that law will not turn out to be all wind, like the United States' emancipation law. It is not making a crime of that which was not so, any more than prohibiting robbery is.

E.

THE NEGRO CHARACTER.

There can be little doubt that if the real character of the Africans and their descendants were sufficiently known among the people of the United States, that is to say, if we were better acquainted with their conduct when uninfluenced by the soul debasing bonds of oppression, the force of prejudice would be weakened, and there would be much less difficulty in restoring to them the rights and privileges of which they have been unjustly deprived than some are inclined to think do at present exist. The following article cannot fail to throw great light upon the subject, and is well worthy the perusal of every citizen of this Republic.—On account of its length, a part of it only is inserted at this time—the remainder will appear hereafter.

G. U. E.

From Niles' Weekly Register.

HAYTI. It is strongly recommended by many, that the United States should officially acknowledge a fact which really exists, the independence of Hayti. Much may be said on both sides of the question; and, though the general opinion is against the proceeding, some notice of this neighboring nation of people of colour, cannot be uninteresting or unprofitable; for Hayti, very important just now, promises to have effects

on the state of society in this part of the world, of great moment to the people of the United States and of the West Indies.

One writer, who assumes the possession of most respectable information, regards the population as amounting to a million. This must, I think, be a large exaggeration. The whole number of persons on the island at the time of its greatest cultivation and commercial prosperity, (when it employed 200,000 tons of shipping in the trade with France only, and exported, from the French part, about 170,000,000*lbs.* of sugar and 80,000,000*lbs.* of coffee, with large quantities of cotton, indigo, &c.) did not exceed 575,000 souls. At that time, to supply the waste of human life, 30,000 fresh negroes were annually imported from Africa, in about 100 vessels; and the other trade with foreign places employed about 60,000 tons of shipping more. But, when the revolution broke out, the whites, (say 51,000,) and the mulattoes, (20,000) were massacred or forced to fly, or killed in the troubles that followed, and so there remained only about 500,000 blacks. We have seen it repeatedly stated, that this class of persons has not increased since that period, on the contrary, I believe it has been said, by authority in Hayti, that its number had declined; and if, when we call to recollection the many destructive insurrections & wars to which the island was subject until a late date, and the exterminating principles that were adopted by the contending chiefs, with the great destruction of life through the wantonness of tyranny in the late "king Henry" and his unfeeling and brutal adherents, we should suppose that the present population cannot amount to half a million in the whole island—that which was the Spanish part being very scantily peopled. But this is a large and formidable stock to be acted upon—and, under a mild and peaceable government, encouraging the arts and protecting property and domestic industry, it will be augmented with unprecedented rapidity, and acquire a power to maintain not only the independence of Hayti, but to dictate law to the neighboring places at will, or conquer them at discretion.

This island, by the nature of the climate on its coasts, the fastnesses of its interior, the fertility of its soil and the amount of its spontaneous production of articles fitted for food, and more than all, the number and character of its inhabitants, is, perhaps, more able to maintain its own sovereignty than almost any other nation or state; and any one would much more readily insure

the presidency to *Boyer* than the crown of France to *Louis*, though the latter, by virtue of that crown, claims the possession of this great and most valuable country. The best appointed, and perhaps the most numerous army that ever crossed the Atlantic, (under Napoleon's brother-in-law, *Le Clerc*), attempted a subjugation of it—but the blacks retired to the mountains and kept the French confined to the coast, and they died off "like rotten sheep," *by thousands*. Before this, the British attempted to reduce it—the whole force employed was 15,000 choice troops; and, in about one year, almost without battle, they were reduced to 3,000 men fit for service. *Hompesch's* regiment of hussars was cut down from 1000 to 300 men in about two months, *and every man of the 96th regiment died!* and besides this prodigal waste of life, the expedition directly cost not less than 20 millions of dollars. It effected nothing, nor could 100,000 of the best trained troops in the world, supported by all the British navy, and supplied at the cost of hundreds of millions of money, reduce the island, if the people remained true to their own liberty and independence. They would only have to fly to the mountains, (which produce enough to subsist them,) harass the enemy by small parties, and leave the rest to dis-case—unless they pleased to meet them in the field, *which they might do with 70 or 80,000 well armed and disciplined men*. The present regular force is between 40, & 50,000 excellent soldiers, naturalized to the climate; which, so fatal to the whites, is not particularly injurious to them, even when subjected to such exposures as would produce almost certain death to their enemies, within two or three days. A brief notice of the history of the *Maroons*, in Jamaica, may shew the nature of that defence which the blacks of Hayti might offer to an invading enemy, if the latter were powerful enough to compel them to abandon the coasts and the plains of the island—and Hayti has every possible advantage for such defence that Jamaica affords, the character of the country in both being the same, except that the soil of Hayti is the richest and most productive of roots, &c. used for food, of which resource the inhabitants could not be deprived, vegetation being perpetual and exceedingly rapid.

(To be continued.)

From the Edwardsville Spectator.

On Thursday the 6th inst. at the house of Judge Gimore, a public dinner was given to Jonathan H. Pugh, Esq. the represen-

tative from Bond county. This tribute of respect was induced by his legislative course having met the general approbation of his constituents, and more particularly by his vote against the convention question. An address was delivered to him expressive of the high gratification which his political career had afforded, and of the regret occasioned by his determination to fix his future residence in the county of Sangamo; to which he made an appropriate, feeling reply. After dinner a meeting was held according to previous intention, when the Rev. Aquilla Suggs being chosen to the chair, and John Laughlin, Esq. appointed secretary, the following resolutions [among others] were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the conduct of our representative, Jonathan H. Pugh, Esq. in voting against the question for a new convention.

Resolved, That the extraordinary proceedings of the majority in the late Legislature to procure the passage of the convention bill, are calculated to justify the belief that the introduction of *unlimited slavery* into Illinois, is the prime object of the principal actors; and that we will, therefore, use every lawful endeavor to oppose the formation of a convention, by which desperate intrigue may possibly effect a change in our constitution, hostile to freedom.

Resolved, That we will encourage the circulation of such newspapers, printed within the state, as are opposed to slavery, and to the means by which it may be introduced; and that we will raise funds for the printing and gratuitous distribution of tracts favorable to the cause of freedom.

Resolved, That we will unite in electing those only, to fill offices of public trust, who are opposed to calling a new convention.

From the (Cin.) Independent Press.

Extract of a letter from the editor of the Vincennes Journal to the editor of this paper, dated

Vincennes, Sept. 9, 1823.

"A poor black fellow has just sought my protection who calls himself Wm. Hunter, and who has been taken up by some of our negro hunters—taken before one of our *enlightened* and *philanthropic* Justices of the Peace, and suffered by him to be taken away again and inhumanly beaten. Hunter states that he served his time with a Mr. Patterson in Baltimore, by whom he was emancipated eighteen years ago in that city—since which period he has lived in Richmond, Va. Pittsburgh, Lexington & Frankfort, Ky. during which time he has gener-

ally been employed in taking care of horses, until about a year past, since which time he has been employed by a Mr. Henry Kuron, living about 35 miles above Cincinnati. This is the fellow's story; but I do not know whether it is true or not: I have therefore to request you to give this publicity in order that Mr. Kuron may hear from him if he has been in his employ, and forward an affidavit or such certificates as may enable him to substantiate his right to freedom. A compliance with this request will be aiding the cause of humanity, and will confer a particular favor on your old friend,

J. W. OSBORN.

We extract the following from *Mellish's "Travels in the United States,"* in 1811, to shew the striking contrast perceivable at first view, by a stranger, between two states, enjoying equal natural advantages, separated only by a single river, the one tolerating slavery, and the other prohibiting it. Mr. Mellish had travelled through a considerable portion of the United States previous to his making these remarks, and was then on his way from Pittsburg down the Ohio river, travelling by water, and was at that time some distance below Marietta.

Ohio Paper.

"We had found by this time [says Mr. Mellish,] that the settlers on the Ohio side, were, by far, in the most comfortable circumstances; and we never failed in an application for lodging or victuals on that side. On the Virginia side, we had of late made frequent attempts, but were always unsuccessful. On stopping there, we generally found a negro, who could give us no answer, or a poor looking object in the shape of a woman, who, "moping and melancholy," would say, "we have no way." I never saw the effects of slavery more visible than in this contrast. On the Virginia side they seemed generally to trust to the exertions of the negroes, and we found them as might be expected, "miserable, and wretched, and poor, and almost naked."—On the Ohio side, they trusted to the blessing of God, and to their own exertions; and "God helps them that help themselves," as Poor Richard says in his almanac. We found them increasing in wealth, population and domestic comfort; and we resolved hereafter to apply on the right bank only for accommodation. Our general rule was to look out for a settlement at sunset, and stop at the first we came to thereafter; and it was hardly ever necessary to make a second call."

BOSTON SOCIETY.

The report of the committee as mentioned below, will be read with a great deal of interest. Our eastern friends are beginning to feel a little for our hapless condition.

The adjourned meeting on the subject of an Auxiliary Colonization Society, and of a Society to aid in the suppression of the Slave Trade, was held on Wednesday evening, Sept. 7, 1822.—George Blake, Esq. in the chair, Mr. Lewis Tappan, Esq. Secretary, in the absence of the Rev. Mr. Frothingham, who acted as secretary at the previous meeting. The following report was presented by the committee and read, and after an interesting discussion of the whole subject, was unanimously accepted.

Report of the Committee appointed at Boston to consult about the expediency of affording aid to the Colonization Society.

The committee appointed to consider the expediency of forming a Society for the purpose of aiding the funds of the Colonization Society, or assisting in the suppression of the slave trade, have paid such attention to the subject referred to them as the time and their opportunities would permit; and respectfully submit the following Report:

The importance of providing some remedy for the evils arising from the rapid relative increase of the black population in some portions of our country is becoming every year more serious. It is now well known that where a slave population abounds their ratio of increase is much greater than that of the people among whom they live.—Hence the time cannot be far distant, when their numbers in some of the States and their power, will predominate over that of those who hold them in servitude, unless some mode is devised of diminishing their numbers, or some provision made for removing the surplus portion of them.

It was in the expectation of furnishing, in some measure, a remedy for these evils, or at least of diminishing their danger, that the American Society for Colonizing the free people of colour of the United States was established. This society has been in operation nearly six years, and its affairs appear to have been conducted with much enterprise and zeal, and as your Committee believe, in a spirit of enlightened Christian benevolence.

Were the objects of this society extended no farther than to the Colonization of such people of colour in our country as are already free, or who will become free in the ordinary course of events, they would

tion should be laid aside, namely: to be rich in the wealth of this world, and to enjoy the *beatitudes of heaven* when he dies. These two he considers as being the only things worthy of his attention. This gentleman has the advantage of many others, for he has a double portion of zeal, and though it is divided between two objects, which are opposite in their natures, yet he contrives, some how or other, to keep it in pretty lively operation. *Gripus* has two witnesses to prove his attachments, —his *tongue* declares that he *loves God*, and his *works* testify that he *loves the world*. He says that though Abraham was a good man, he was rich in gold, and in silver, and had servants born in his house, and bought with money; and that it is but right that he should be like him in these respects, —that if people would read the Old Testament more than they do, and examine the history of the Jews, and also notice many expressions of the Proverbs, and what is written in some other places, they would find that riches are in very high estimation in old times, among the Jews in particular, who were called God's people, and were a very religious nation. —This being the creed of *Gripus*, he leaves no means untried, that is not reputed scandalous, to gain all the wealth he can; and though he will not openly defraud any one of his own complexion, yet he does a great many hard things to others, which he would be very unwilling to have done to himself on a change of circumstances, —such as taking advantages of necessity, by selling his property to the needy at prices higher than the nominal value —the money must be paid down; —or if he credits at all, must have a note bearing interest from the day it is given: —If he agrees to take any kind of property in payment for any debt, it is sure to be something on which he can make some profit, by receiving it far below its usual selling price, and selling it out again at fifty or a hundred per cent. advance. *Gripus* wipes his mouth from criminality in these things, by pleading popular custom, which he has never seriously examined into, to see whether it was right or wrong, so that he has got to be completely confirmed in his creed of covetousness.

Every coloured human animal about him that is able to do any thing, has to be on the alert on common occasions, but in a more than ordinary hurry of busi-

ness, they are run both day and night, wet and dry, —living on the scanty allowance of a *peck of corn a week* to each working hand, or some other pittance of like magnitude, of the most unsavory kind, —frequently half naked, and often the few rags that do hang on them, have originally been made of the coarsest materials; and instead of having a sufficiency to screen them from the cold, have not enough to hide their nakedness; but females, grown to the years of puberty, have the parts exposed to public view, at which the slightest modesty should raise the crimson blush! —Ye mistress-es and misses! all yclad from head to feet, and think yourselves secure; think, that the *charms* of female slaves, by your own fault expos'd to public view, as in a glass, you thus expose your own!!

Whilst these half starved, half naked beings are driven to excess, the delicacies, and fineries, which are the sole earnings of the slaves, are consumed by the white family, who live in idleness and prodigality. When *Gripus* was expostulated with for the manner in which he treated his slaves, his answer was, that he thought there should always be kept up a wide distinction between superiors and inferiors, —that slaves were but a small grade above the brute creation, and that the coarsest food, if they had a sufficiency of it to support nature, was suitable enough for them; and as to clothing, if they got the roughest kind that could be made, it was generally the most durable; and was as good as could be afforded, and if not enough to keep them warm, let them warm themselves at work. As to his own children, he said that he wished to raise them genteely; in which case, it was necessary that they should be accustomed to high living, and splendid fashionable apparel, that they might feel their dignity, and a mien of superiority over, not slaves only, but over the whites who were in lower situations in life than himself; this he said would give them an air of importance, and qualify them to rank with the highest order of fashionable gentleman and ladies!

Notwithstanding his aspiring mind, and his hard heartedness to slaves, *Gripus* is very zealous in what he calls religion, or in the exercise of his devotional performances; and as he takes certain "*frames and feelings*" of mind for evidence of his having religion, he has recourse to every stratagem calculated to

Erat Justitia Erat Veritas.

excite them; and so by using various methods of incitement, he seldom fails in finding a combustible, qualified for kindling in his imagination that fanciful fire, with which he warms his devotions, and on which he rests his hopes of heaven. *Gripus* considers the injunctions, to do as we would be done by—to love our neighbour as ourselves,—to help the needy, &c. to belong to the “covenant of works,” or that they have some other meaning, than what is generally attached to them.—*Faith*, he says is all that is required in the gospel day, and as he knows he has religion, he knows that he has *faith*, and that is sufficient for him.

When *Gripus* reads such scriptures as these: lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth—it is impossible for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven—where your treasure is, there will your heart be also;—ye cannot serve God and mammon—they that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition—having food and raiment, therewith be content—thou shalt not oppress—break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, with others to the like amount, he either passes over them without noticing their sacred import, or puts them out of his mind as quick as possible, as they are contrary to his plans and opinions. In all *Gripus*’ pretensions to religion, he has no notions of holiness, or bearing the fruits of moral rectitude—justice, mercy, & a faith that is productive of works of righteousness, which flow from a divine principle implanted in the soul by the operation of the holy spirit, but his sole object is happiness, in all his aspirations, both after the treasures of this world, and the glories of that which is to come.

Gripus is a perfect monopolist: for in all his anxieties for obtaining the happiness of heaven for himself, he has left his slaves quite out of the account, and has entirely withheld from them every means of obtaining spiritual instruction by reading the scriptures, as he has kept them from the knowledge of letters: so that for any thing that he has done for them, they may perish in their ignorance. And as it respects the happiness or pleasures of this world, at which he aims, he has not only deprived them of freedom—the opportunity of gaining spiritual knowledge by reading—the acquiring a

comfortable subsistence, and of free agency in every respect whatever, but has rendered them as poor, ignorant, and as miserable as human beings that are able to walk, can well be on earth; that he, and his family may riot in the pleasures of pomp and luxury through life in this world, and then, hope (without a foundation) to enjoy the pleasures of the celestial Paradise in the world to come!

Justice is an attribute of Jehovah; what conceptions men have of the deity, I cannot conjecture, who suppose that religion, and the smallest degree of wilful injustice can be reconciled together,—when there is not an attribute of the Godhead that can sanction such a thought, or how they can believe that slavery is compatible with the purities of the Gospel holiness! That men should establish their happiness in this world on the unhappiness or misery of others, is certainly an act of injustice of the greatest magnitude, and yet, no doubt, it is in operation in many millions of cases; but when men who profess the christian religion act thus, and yet suppose they are justifiable in so doing, and that God will eternally happy them in heaven, because, in common with devils, they believe there is a God, and a mediator betwixt God and man, Christ Jesus, it proves to me that they believe in a God, void of justice and holiness, and altogether like themselves!

When men increase their worldly pleasures or happiness by extortion or grinding the faces of the poor, and thus render them less happy than they would have been in a scale of equity, it is an act of injustice evidently condemned by the law of heaven,—when they rob their fellow men of their heaven endowed rights of freedom, or withhold it from them when so robbed by others, and of consequence, a whole life time’s enjoyment of such a state; even if they treat them in a way that slave holders call good usage, it is a crime, or act of injustice of a much greater magnitude than others—This is their all; but to deprive them of the above rights, and then make them miserable all their days by hard labour and personal abuses, as it is the case with many thousands in our christian professing country is not only an act of injustice, but an outrage on humanity that beggars description! If slavery was practised by those only, who make no pretensions to religion, it might be ranked with other enor-

is own people to imposing slavery on the other parts of Europe.

From the Abolition Intelligencer.

Sir—Some time since, travelling to the outward, I lighted on the original copy of the following manuscript, being an address composed for a pious young man of colour, whom his generous master has liberated.

In most assemblies it would be reckoned as indecorous, as it is unfashionable for a man of colour to appear on the stage, but thank Heaven it is my lot to appear at a time when, and in a place where vain fashions, and popular prejudices, are not indulged to the exclusion of good sense and humanity; and I presume that the importance of the subject which I shall briefly lay before you, will be a sufficient apology for the intrusion, if such it should be in the estimation of any.

I need not tell you to whom I am related, or what was the land of my forefathers; my peccy locks, and sable skin advise you of both; suffice it to say, I am one of Adam's progeny, and I consider Noah to be something like my great grandfather. Temperature of climate, connected with refinement of manners, have given to Europeans a delicacy of feature and fairness of skin, that renders odious in their sight, the jetty hue, which the burning climes of Africa have impressed on us. But, be assured, this impression is no deeper than the skin, which so black, incloses a soul that as ardently longs for the latitude which ennobles a human being as if its mantle had been bleached by the snow of Europe.

When a man is filled with the comforts of life, and basks in the smiles of friendship, he too seldom visits the cottage of woe, hears the groans of the distressed. Permit me to say that an exception to this remark has occurred in the case of him whom you now honor by kind attention. Though born a slave in the land of boasted freedom, have been raised by a man, on whom I will pass no higher encomium, because the world does not furnish one, than to say he was a Christian. But although comfort has been my bed, & plentiful my board, the tender sensibilities of my soul, have not been lulled in the cradle of ease, or been absorbed in the silence of lethe. Having scarce passed my 20th year, I am allowed to give a brief history of the excursions of my mind "which has visited the land of Ham, and marked the customs of the country." I have seen their cities decline, their villages desolate, and their fields a wilder-

ness. The spinning wheel was still, the loom was silent, and the whistle of the mill boy, or whoop of the ploughman, seldom rendered the vales loquacious, or the hills responsive. While destruction filled me with horror, and silence clothed me in solemnity, a little smoke, in a desolated Hamlet, invited me to the ruins of a cottage, to learn the cause of my consternation. The roof was removed; the doors broken down, and the floor gave evident marks of destruction and death—Here I beheld the tears of the bereaved mother, and heard the groans of the heart-broken widow. The hoary sire was washing the staff, on which he leaned his wrinkled face, with tears; pursuing in imagination the caravan which had just departed. I saw the screaming child which had lately clung around its mother's neck, until it was torn from her arms forever. Despair was still depicted in the countenance of her who gave the last look on the darling of her bosom—A righteous indignation had aroused the resentment of the nervous sire; but a massy club silenced his ambition. Chastity was driven from the company, jealousy allowed no revenge, humanity was ashamed, and the Devil yielded the palm to human cruelty. I saw hundreds crowded together in the ship, suffocated for want of air, starved for want of food, or murdered by the pestilence. I saw a female half eaten by a shark, while the dying half was suspended to a rope, as a menace to her surviving relations. Passing the West Indies, I saw my country-men doomed to perpetual slavery; I wept a while for their sufferings, then hastened to the United States to seek relief for my heart. Scarce had my foot rested on the *land of liberty*, when my ears were stunned by the whip of the cruel master, and the screams of the suffering negro. His lacerated back was salted, and his neck yoked with iron. I saw hundreds driven to market like beasts, their backs naked, and their bowels empty. No attention was paid to conjugal affection, personal ties or filial regard. What more shall I say! Shall I tell that I saw them whipped in Georgia, for endeavoring on Sunday, to worship God, & trying to learn to read his word? Shall I say how I saw — no, I'll proceed no further, but turn from the quarter to the parlour, and hear the pampered gentleman bless himself, that he has not been accessory to the crime of slavery—he never was in Africa—he never brought a negro into bondage; he has done nothing worse than furnish a good market for slaves—feed them on cotton seed and

Fit Justitia Hunt Cælum.

scourge them well for their wrongs. I was about exclaiming, merciful heaven! where, where will this scene of wretchedness end? when I heard many good people lamenting the evils of slavery, and meditating its abolition. My heart was transported with hope that parted the surrounding gloom, I fancied I saw the wilderness of Africa, turned into fruitful fields, the arts and sciences flourished—parents and children met and mingled their tears of joy—husbands and wives were restored to each other's embraces, and the old man said he was willing to die, for his children had brought home from America the BIBLE.

Hundreds were emulous to excel in atoning for the wickedness of slavery, by learning the poor African to read the scriptures, and in providing means for their return. And among the happy sharers of their benevolence, your humble servant is classed. It is the sincere desire of my heart to aid, in some capacity, in meliorating the condition of my unhappy countrymen, and relatives. But in getting an education, I am altogether dependant on the liberality of the charitable. And I humbly hope, that I am now addressing some, who will be happy to succour the poor negro, by giving him a trifle to procure him a garment, or a morsel of bread, while he is learning to read the bible.

“Out of their own mouths shall they be condemned.”

The American Colonization Society is composed principally of persons who treat the negroes as an inferior race; but hear the following from one of them.

Dr. Ayres' account of Regent's Town, Sierra Leone.

On the subject of the capability of the negro, let us hear what facts declare; let us hear the voice of Regent's Town. This town is situated at the foot of a mountain, about eight miles from Free Town, and was begun about seven years ago. It contains from twelve to fourteen hundred inhabitants, all captured Africans, taken since that time from slave vessels. The writer of this article visited there about one year ago, and was most agreeably surprised at the order and improvement which was manifested. He arrived in the evening; next morning being Sunday, not a person was to be seen in the streets; a calmness reigned as solemn and profound as had done six years before, when nothing was heard in the wilderness but the softly creeping tread of the leopard when preparing to spring upon his

prey. A few minutes before 8 A. M. the children of the school were arranged in a line, classed according to their mechanical occupation, each class dressed in a uniform proper to itself, with the master-workman at its head, who was responsible for the behaviour of his class. When the time arrived for morning prayer, this interesting group of two hundred moved in order to their seat in the church. There were about five hundred in all who attended morning prayer in the church. After they had retired from church in the same order in which they entered, there was no more seen of them until the bell rang at the regular hour of worship. At once, as though the whole village had been moved by a magic spring, there was seen between twelve and fourteen hundred in the street, cleanly and decently clad with the Bible under their arms, moving towards the church. I perceived issuing from the mountain about a dozen young men, proceeding in Indian file, with their Bibles under their arms. On enquiring who they were, I was informed they were scholars from their classical school; they had been selected for their piety and superior attainments, and were preparing to return to their native land as Missionaries, to declare the joyful tidings of their emancipation to their benighted countrymen. They had made a progress in the study of the languages, which would not disgrace the student of our most boasted seminaries. It was an occasion of this kind that caused a British Admiral to exclaim, “See!! Behold what religion can do.” It casts an additional grandeur and solemnity over those scenes to reflect that it is only years since the late Rev. John Newton was roaming over a part of these grounds; a slave to savage, and himself the “fellest of the fell,” and that now his inimitable hymns are being wafted to the portals of Heaven in their own native language. Let him who is disposed to deny the Negro the common faculties which are possessed by the rest of Adam's race, reflect upon these things.

Kidnappers taken.—The villains who carried off from Indiana, in May last, a family of blacks, for whose rescue General Harrison offered \$330, have been taken at New Orleans and committed to jail.

The law of South Carolina for imprisoning free blacks arriving in her ports, continues to be enforced, notwithstanding it has been pronounced unconstitutional by Judge Johnson.

The following toast was drunk in Monroe county, Illinois, on the 4th of July last.

The great w*** of Babylon in the State of Illinois, pregnant with a new convention, upon the expense of seven dollars per day or upwards of ten weeks, having Pandora's box full of the plagues of her abominations, mocking the sweet Goddess of Liberty to shame! making war with the Governor of the State, and declaring that we are to republicans, without granting free toleration of soul peddling in our State.—May the people of Illinois be conjured by the sacred Tree of Liberty that was planted by the venerable sages of the revolution, and baptised with the blood of our fathers, that they will rid themselves of that vile prostitute, at our next election, else depend upon it, she will bring forth a monster to the State, the indignation of God's wrath, and one of the foulest stains upon the American character.

Dead march and profound silence.

Black List.

From Niles' Weekly Register.
THE INTERNAL TRADE.

STARVATION OF NEGROES.

From papers laid before the British Parliament.

Extracts from the last reports respecting the progress of efforts to suppress the slave trade on the coast of Africa, forwarded to the Admiralty and to Earl Bathurst, by Sir W. Mends.

Spanish schooner Yeaman,

River Bonny, April 16.

I have the honor to forward an account of my proceedings up this river. Having crossed the bar, soon after day-light yesterday, about seven o'clock, I observed seven sail, (two schooners, four brigs, and a brigantine,) lying at anchor off the town. When I was near enough for the shot to take good effect, I returned the fire from the boats having guns, at the same time advancing under heavy fire of round grape and musketry from these vessels, and, in about twenty minutes from the commencement, succeeded in boarding and taking possession of the whole of them, as follows, viz:—

Spanish schooner Yeaman, 306 tons, eight long eighteen pounders, two long nines, fifty-five men and three hundred and eighty slaves.

Spanish schooner Becua, 180 tons, eight long eighteen pounders and one long nine, forty-five men and three hundred slaves.

French brig Vigilante, 240 tons, four twelve pounder caronades (all of which were brought over on one side for her better defence), thirty men and three hundred and forty-three slaves.

French brig Petite Betzey, 184 tons, four nine pounder caronades, twenty-five men and two hundred and eighteen slaves.

French brigantine L'Ursule, 109 tons, four nine pound caronades, twenty-seven men and two hundred and forty-seven slaves.

I have not been able to learn accurately the loss on their part, but, from what I can understand, there were sixteen killed, besides several badly wounded, on board this schooner. The slaves, I am sorry to say, suffered, also, from these dastardly Spaniards, when they, themselves, were afraid to stand, having put muskets into their hands, with which they fired up the hatchway, and were killed by our people in returning it.

The small schooner, when I took possession of her, had a lighted match hanging over the open magazine hatch, left by the crew when they deserted her, and who, when no hope remained of their preventing her falling into our hands, merely to gratify a diabolical feeling of revenge for their defeat, would have blown up three hundred poor fellows, ironed in the hold. This fact will show you of what these villains are capable, and makes me credit the brag of some of them, that had they got the better of us, it was their determination, if possible, to put us all to death.

(Signed)

GEO. W. ST. JOHN MILDMAI,

Lieut. of H. M. S. Iphigenia.

Enclosure in No. 6, (forwarded to Earl Bathurst.)

Memorandum.—The enclosed list proves, most incontestibly, the existence of the slave trade, to an enormous extent, on this coast; and the particular circumstances of atrocity, which have come to light, respecting the "San Jose Hallaxa," also prove that its attendant horrors are not diminished. This vessel affords a striking display of the cold-blooded villainy of those who are engaged in the slave trade and of the wretchedness and misery which their unfortunate victims are doomed to suffer.

The "San Jose Hallaxa," a schooner under seven tons burthen, was captured by his majesty's brig "Thistle," in the river Calabar, and it appears by the acknowledgement of the master, that he shipped at Duke Ephraim's Town, on that river, 80 slaves; that he had gone to sea with that number on board, intending to proceed to Prince's

Island, but not having been able to make that port, he had returned to Calabar, having his provisions and water nearly expended, after having been at sea five or six weeks.

During this voyage, *ten* unfortunate objects of his avarice, not being able to procure sufficient nourishment to satisfy the cravings of nature, had been relieved from further sufferings by *starvation!* One poor female, in the absence of food, *had existed on salt water* until her faculties were destroyed, and she became raving mad; but even the deplorable and affecting state of insanity did not shield her from the brutal outrage of her oppressors, who, with a view of stifling her cries by frequent repetition of the lash, *flogged her to death.* The owner of this vessel and the purchaser of these human beings is a woman! Donna Maria de Cruz, daughter of the notorious Gomez, formerly governor, in the name of his most faithful majesty, of Prince's Island, and now holding the appointment of fiscal and member of council. This woman is known to the mixed commission court, having been under their cognizance some time since as proprietor of the Conceicao, condemned by the British and Portuguese judges.

[Now be it known and remembered, that all who aid and assist in keeping open a MARKET for slaves, are accessory to the crimes committed by those traffickers in human flesh. We, yes WE, my countrymen, are guilty of encouraging them. Awake! Arise!—Let us wipe off this stigma upon our national character. We can do it if we will it. It is in vain that we condemn the practice, while we aid in perpetuating it—*Gen. Univer. Eman.*]

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"AFRICA WEeping FOR HER CHILDREN,
AND REFUSING TO BE COMFORTED."

A DIALOGUE.

AFRICA.

Ye nations all, of ev'ry clime,
Come hear my lamentation;—
Was ever sorrow like to mine,
Such grief and sore vexation?
The christians landing from afar,
Seized on my sons and daughters;

And oft fomenting wicked wars,
Those scenes of blood and slaughters.
My fertile plains were souk'd in blood;
My towns in ashes laid;
Destruction march'd like as a flood,
And desolation made.

My helpless poor they did betray,
The prisoners bound in chains;
And from me forced them far away,
To endure most cruel pains.
Degraded race, in human form;
They and their progeny.
Endure the lash and winter storm
Of cruel slavery.
Come view their footsteps in the sand,
On my devoted shore;
They mark with blood from strand to strand
My fields with purple gore.
The blood of my own children dear
These savages have shed,
And left me wrapt in mourning here
My children that are dead.
Nor shall I weep alone for those
Now in the silent grave;
Who fear no more the frown of foes,
Who life for freedom gave.
I weep for those in misery,
Beneath oppression's chains;
For those that pine in slavery,
Where ruthless avarice reigns.
For those I'll weep, nor comfort take,
Until Jehovah rise,
Their heavy yoke of bondage break,
And give them freedom's prize.

MISSIONARIES.

We've come, poor Africa, to thee,
To ease thy throbbing breast;
We've come to shew to thee the way
To everlasting rest.
We've come, as thou may'st understand,
With our credentials clear;
The book of God we hold in hand,
To teach his holy fear.
We've come to teach the way of grace,
To those in pagan night;
To turn them from their savage ways,
To a Redeemer's light.

AFRICA.

O who are you that talk so bold,
To shew the better way;
Ye tyrants who for thirst of gold,
My children made your prey?
Ye talk of savage—look at home;
What savage like to you;—
Ye have demolish'd freedom's dome,
In blood your hands t' imbrue.
Christian, to me a hateful name!
I'm taught to dread you more
Than the fierce tiger's cruel flame,
Or hungry lion's roar.

MISSIONARIES.

Poor Africa! we've heard thee rave,
 We know thy frantic mind,
 Which deep-felt sorrow's furious wave
 Has left quite unconfin'd.
 We hope yet in a sober hour,
 Our message thou'lt receive;
 Turn to that God whose mighty pow'r
 From sorrow can relieve.
 Those monsters of the christian name,
 Who have thee sore afflicted,
 Their portion is the burning flame,
 If they have not repented.
 Christ never taught his children so;
 Turn Africa, to him;
 He comforts all the sons of woe,
 Redeeming them from sin.

AFRICA.

Go back from me—no comfort I
 Will from you now receive;
 I cannot on your words rely,
 Your missions can't believe.
 Go back, convert the savage men,
 Go set my children free,
 So that with pleasure you may then
 In peace return to me.

A. C.

WRITTEN ON HAVING MY GILT POCKET BIBLE
 STOLEN BY A BLACK MAN.

*"Heaven fixed it certain that whatever day,
 Men makes a slave, takes half his worth a-
 way."*

An African void of uprightness within,
 Who like many others, thought stealing no
 sin;

Intent on converting whatever he saw
 To private account, without license or law;
 Saw my gilt pocket bible, laid by on a shelf,
 And stole it to barter for liquor or pelf.

It was my instructor, I loved it more dear
 Than misers their lucre, or tipplers their beer;
 Its pure revelations a rapture imprest.
 Than riches or diamonds more dear to my
 breast.

If riches delight 'twas a fathomless mine,
 Each sentence is worthy in diamonds to
 shine:

If science, the truth written pages unfold,
 A wisdom more precious than rubies or gold;
 If happiness charms you, there shines the
 bright pearl,

Will make you more joyful than Marquis
 or Earl.

How oft with a smile of delight I would say,
 Take health, fortune, friends, and my credit
 away,

But leave me my bible, my treasure it is;
 The spring of my joy, and my charter to
 bliss.

If cast by misfortune on some distant isle,
 Where seasons ne'er bloom, and the skies
 never smile;

Beneath the cold pole in a region of snow,
 On Fuego's bleak cape, where the fierce
 tempests blow;

With only one volume my mind to solace,
 I'd choose the pure records of covenant
 grace!

Ah! why should the varlet my bible pur-
 loin!

The book he hath taken, the truth is still
 mine:

I hope the sweet word is forever imprest
 On the truth-written tablets concealed in
 my breast.

Perhaps 'twas the gilding that dazzled his
 eye,

So millions are smit with the glare of a toy.
 They grasp at a pebble, and think it a gem,
 And tinsel is gold if it glitters to them.

Hence dazzled with beauty the lover is
 smit;

The hero with honor, the poet with wit;
 The fop with his feather, his snuff box and
 cane,

The nymph with her novels, the merchant
 with gain,

The thing was remarkably odd, I confess,
 And strikes me as being a singular case:

Men rifle the young, and purloin from the
 old,

Rob maidens of virtue, and misers of gold;
 While bigots deprive you of conscience's
 right,

And tyrants may rob you of liberty bright;
 But a bible to steal is uncommonly odd;

Was there ever a thief who delighted in
 God?

(To be concluded in next Number.)

TERMS OF THIS PAPER.

Published monthly, at *One Dollar* per an-
 num, payable in advance. The difficulty
 in collecting small sums at a distance ren-
 ders a strict adherence to this rule neces-
 sary.

TO MY DELINQUENT PATRONS.

The printer wants matter, to fill up the page,
 And a little will do, I perceive —

And a little, from patrons, to fill up my
 pocket,

My breast of much care would relieve.
 Now read it, I pray you, this trite little sto-
 ry,

And think on 't, at least while the paper's
 before ye

Ed. G. U. Emancipation.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENSVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 7. VOL. III.

ELEVENTH MONTH, 1823.

Whole No. 35.

ANOTHER BRIGHT STAR,

In the Southern Constellation.

It appears that the Chilian Government has completely abolished slavery in its dominions. So it goes—The "tyrannical" Spaniards, and South American Creoles are advanced far beyond us in the science of practical, universal liberty. Shame, shame to our northern *Anglo republicans* who claim the exclusive right, as inventors and patentees, to the anti-royal cradle, in which young Freedom was rocked, in the garden of Hesperia.—Mexico, Colombia and Chili; all the region about the equator, on this continent, "WHERE WHITE PEOPLE CANNOT WORK!" together with the adjacent countries, all, all, "FREE STATES!!!"—and what are ours? Again, I say, *Shame to us!*

A friend, in Indiana, writes to the editor of this paper as follows:

"I have lately seen a Prospectus for a book against slavery, issued by a Mr. Duncan, a Presbyterian minister in Kentucky. I have no personal acquaintance with the author, but, judging of his talents by a specimen given in a pamphlet written against Universalism, I am disposed to think it will be valuable. It is doubtful, however, whether it will see the light for want of patronage."

I should be pleased to have a copy of this prospectus. Any person, having it in his power to send me one, will confer a particular favor.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

In this number will be found a few articles, shewing the sentiments of politicians, in various parts of the Union, on the subject of the approaching election for chief magistrate. The time is now at hand when this subject may be discussed with propriety; and I shall endeavor, as soon as leisure may be afforded, both to shew that it would redound to the honor, the peace and prosperity of our country, to have a President who is not only a non-slaveholder, but opposed to the system of slavery in all its bearings; and, that it will be impolitic to advance any but such an one to that important station.

SLAVERY CONDEMNED.

A pamphlet with the above title, has just issued from the press in this place, compiled by a citizen of Lee County, Virginia.—price 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents, to be had of the compiler at Lee C. H. Va. and at this office.

THE FREE STATES.

A determined spirit of opposition to the system of slavery continues to manifest itself in some of the States where laws have been enacted for its abolition; and many seem feelingly alive to the evils produced by it in other sections of the country. Some appear to be fully resolved to go all constitutional lengths in opposing the many-headed monster; and among other expedients to rid themselves of the guilt of contributing towards its support, they have agreed to abstain, as much as possible, from the use of the produce of slave labour. A friend in Philadelphia has politely furnished me with a hand-bill, lately issued by a grocer in that city, of which the following is a copy.—

"William A. Bruck, informs his friends and the public generally, that he has commenced the Grocery business, No. 74, North Third Street, Corner of Cherry Street. As he is conscientiously scrupulous against dealing in the *Produce of Slavery*, has now on hand, and intends keeping a supply of the following articles for sale, which are not of that description, viz.

Tea—Gunpowder, Imperial, Souchong, Young Hyson, &c. Ginger, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, Pepper, Indigo, &c. White and Brown Sugar, Molasses, Loaf and Lump Sugar, manufactured from East India Molasses, Brown Sugar and Allspice, from a plantation at Porto Rico, whereon no slaves are employed. Haytian and Java Coffee, Ditto Segars. Chocolate manufactured from Haytian Cocoa. Mackerel, Oil, Maple Sugar, Cheese, Vinegar, Flour, &c. European Sweet Oil, Figs, Raisins, Castile Soap, Alum, Saltpetre, Coarse and Fine Salt, Mustard, &c. &c.

Philadelphia, 9th mo, 20, 1823."

In addition to the above, I have just received a spirited communication from a female friend, condemning in pointed terms, the use of the produce of slave-labour, when

lish it not in Askelon,) at this very day there groan beneath the scourge of American task masters, *two hundred thousand* human beings, whose greatest crime is their impotence and sable hue! Well may it be said, woe unto you, ye boasted republican United States, hypocrites, for you are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful without, but are within full of dead men's bones, and all uncleanness. Woe unto you, for ye lade men with heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, but ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your little fingers.

Objection. But it is said slaves are our property, guaranteed by law.

To the antecedent part of this assertion, I answer, that cannot be, for this very sufficient reason: they are men, and "all men are by nature free." Justice cannot have made them your property, for justice they have not offended. Neither can religion; for slavery is inconsistent with her heavenly disposition: She never can rivet the fetters of a slave. On the contrary, within her happy dominions, behold him clothed in the garments of humility, his countenance beaming with love, breaking the heavy yoke, and saying to the oppressed *go free*.—There the shackles of slavery fall. There the wound of tyranny is healed. There the reign of usurpation ceases. In short, there man is permitted to walk with countenance erect, and receive his Creator's benediction of *liberty and equality*.

But would you behold a complication of injustice, tyranny, heathenism, pride, criminal incest, and unrestrained passions, on the one hand, and of degradation, ignorance, and wretchedness the most abject, on the other, turn your eyes to yonder despots riveting their hellish shackles on the sable sons of the torrid regions; and rioting on the fruits of their brother's toil, wrested from them by laws, the injustice of which was never excelled, even in the darkest ages of Pagan idolatry or Popish superstition.—They are guaranteed to us by law. This is admitted. But they are laws against nature, reason, justice, and christianity. Laws, not of right, but of power. Laws, founded on usurpation, and supported by tyranny. And it is believed to be an incontrovertible truth, that just so far as the laws enacted by highwaymen to secure the property procured by rapine & plunder, are justifiable, just so far are

those by which man is made a slave; founded upon fundamental principles and consistent with our declaration of rights.

Objection. But they are ours by contract and fair purchase.

Ah, indeed! did not you lose a horse some time since? Yes, he was stolen out of my stable, taken about fifty miles and sold to a gentleman as a match horse, for one hundred and forty dollars. Then I suppose you got him again. Upon my word if he had not given him up he should have smoked for his pains. And perhaps justly too. But you doubtless paid the gentleman his one hundred and forty dollars again. Not I, indeed. Though, to do him justice, I believe he had no suspicion the horse was stolen; still he was my property, and as such he became accountable, and must seek his redress from the person of whom the purchase was made. Do you think the gentleman was entirely innocent? Undoubtedly. I dare not harbour any other thought, tho' he might perhaps have acted rather imprudently, in making too hasty a purchase. Very probably: but do you not hold life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to belong naturally to every man, and that they cannot justly be taken from him, except as a forfeiture for some crime, or by his own consent? Most certainly I do: deny him these, and you degrade him to a level with brutes, subject to become the servile drudge of every petty tyrant that may please to act the lordling over him. Well which right are we to consider most sacred, that which proceeds immediately from the hand of Heaven, or that which is acquired? It must be the former, seeing it cannot be bartered or transferred to another, but the latter may be sold, given away, or thrown into public stock, for the benefit of the community. Now you are certainly aware that the right of property in the horse, is acquired, but the right which the negro has to his liberty is conferred upon him from his earliest infancy: it is his by birthright, his by nature, and his by the will of Omnipotence. Upon your own principle then, horse theft is not so culpable as man stealing. The horse thief takes the man's property; but you slaveholders take the man. He steals for himself; you employ others to steal for you. He takes the property of another, and sells it as his own; you hold your own offspring in slavery for life, or sell them to your accomplices in iniqui-

ty. He acts in direct violation of the laws of the land, and subjects himself, if taken, to its penalties; you render man a brute, and enact laws to give a sanction to your unhallowed work. He, in practising his nefarious designs, renounces all claim to morality or the endearing name of Christian; you hypocritically profess to conform to the doctrines and spirit of the gospel, and bow before the throne of a God, who we are assured is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, with any degree of approbation; and who when the foolish virgins cry, Lord! Lord! open unto us, will declare, "though you have prophesied in my name, and in my name done many wonderful works, yet I know you not, depart from me ye workers of iniquity." Hence, though you justly execrate the horse thief, and heap upon him the penalties of the law, yet, upon a fair comparison your conduct is as much worse than his, as the glimmering of the small star is less brilliant than the lustre of the midnight moon.

"On then, how blind to all that truth requires,

Who think it justice, when a part aspires,
And call it freedom when themselves are free." HUMANITAS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation:
IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. VII. May, 1822.

Endeared Sister:

My attention is continually kept awake to the novelties that surround me, and the various objects that present themselves to my notice, afford a wide field for busy and anxious thought; nor are the notions of many of the popular professors of religion, of these times, among the least of the items, which excite my astonishment, and animadversion. By continuing so long amongst the professing christians, noticed in some of my former communications, I have formed an acquaintance with several of them of different characters, and of different notions, respecting what is justifiable, and what is not, in the lives and conduct of christians.

Among my late acquaintances, not the least conspicuous, is ECCLESIASTICUS INJUSTITIA, who is a zealous propagator of what he terms, the doctrines of the Gospel. ECCLESIASTICUS is a slaveholder, though he acknowledge slaveholding to be wrong, and that slavery is a crime,

but palliates his offence by pleading the difficulty of freeing them, under the present existing laws—by comfortable accommodations afforded to them and by promising to liberate them, by Will, at his death. He has so far quieted his conscience through the medium of these palliatives, that in his public exhibitions, he frequently exults in the happy prospect of himself, and his slaves, with multitudes of others, in the like situation, "all getting to heaven together;" but whether he has anticipated a *kitchen* for the blacks in that happy region, or not, I have never yet heard him say. If *Ecclesiasticus* would but seriously consider that he is living in an acknowledged sin, he certainly would have more reasons for entertaining doubts, than hopes of that blissful event. There appears to be something quite paradoxical in the notions of friend *Ecclesiasticus*;—he acknowledges slave holding to be a sin, and yet he lives in the daily act of what he condemns; nor does he intend to put away his sin, until he can live no longer in it; when the same obstructions to it will stand in the way then, as do now, & when palliatives will no longer be able to assuage the guilt of a man whose limit is, that men must be saved from sin, in life, or not at all!

If slave holding be wrong or sin, then it is an unholy thing; and as nothing that is unholy or unclean can enter into heaven, how can *Ecclesiastics*, who lives in an unholy act, expect to find admittance to a holy region, with, or without his slaves, till he is purified from his unholiness, which cannot take place but in his life time, (upon his own principles) nor then, until he has broken off his sin by righteousness, in restoring the *right of freedom* to those from whom he is now withholding it? I am afraid that *Ecclesiasticus* pays more attention to his temporal interests, in all his religious professions, than he does to his spiritual; and that he is less concerned for the rights of man, than he is for the accumulation of wealth; otherwise, in his circumstances, he might convey his slaves to some place, where he could emancipate them without detriment, and settle them comfortably for life, even upon their own past earnings.

If *Ecclesiasticus* had not acknowledged slaveholding to be a crime, the inconsistency of his profession and practice had not been so glaring; but to confess

A PICTURE, WHICH KINGS MIGHT LAUGH AT!

The following is respectfully submitted for consideration to the members of Congress, when they next meet at the City of Washington. It is hoped that as our artists, here, are some of Nature's unskilful workmen, the imperfections in the copy will be overlooked, and that gentlemen will occasionally turn their eyes to the ORIGINAL, which they will find to be dreadfully complete.

"*Credite posteri?*"

"*Cernit omnia Deus vindex.*"

THE MANACLED SLAVE'S APPEAL.

"*Hail Columbia, happy land!*"—

'The sacred spot on which I stand—

"No cruel tyrants here remain."

Ah! do there not?—Behold this chain!

Where, where is mercy?—where your laws?

Why chain me thus, without a cause?

Why am I doom'd to pain and wo?

How can you treat a brother so?

Shall traffickers in human blood,

Still trample on the laws of God?

Shall soul-less wretches, void of shame,

Thus blast your patriots' well-earned fame?

You say that "*all men should be free.*"—

Yet hold the precious boon from me.

You meant that slav'ry should have ceased;

For some have justly been released.

But lo! in Freedom's sacred Fane,

Her banner shews an impious stain—

BEHOLD, BEHOLD THIS CRUEL CHAIN!!!



SOUTHWARD, VIA WASHINGTON CITY.

FROM DELAWARE AND MARYLAND.

*Enough to "wake the Hero's dust,
In Vernon's forest gloom."*

FROM A LATE PAPER.

Fifteen or twenty negroes who were kidnapped in or near Philadelphia, were driven through Washington city in chains, towards Georgia. One of the largest negro men, from whom most resistance was expected, had large iron rings on his wrists, and a larger and heavier chain than is commonly used, going from one ring to the other. As the drove passed along before the driver through the street, some gentlemen, members of Congress stood at the gate of the Capitol, looking at them. The large negro, whose chains were so heavy, walked

out from amongst the others, towards the gentlemen, stopped a moment, raised his hands, and shook his clanking chains in the air; then after a momentary pause, while his hands were raised towards heaven, he began the song of freemen—

"*Hail Columbia, happy land.*" &c.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

[EXTRACTS.]

From a recent subscriber in West Tennessee.

DEAR SIR—I have received your paper, styled the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," and am highly pleased with its spi-

Pia Justitia Ruat Cælum.

rit and manner of execution. The only thing that appears to me to be wanting, is the concentrating the main force of argument so as to remove slave masters from the land; then you would strike at the root of slavery. While there are men of sense and wealth who love to tyrannize, there always will be poor and simple creatures for them to crush and enslave; and whether it is white or black is not very material to them, or the country. I would therefore, (with deference to your better judgment,) suggest, that the force of the argument be so directed, as to convince mankind, that the slave tyrant, though legally honest, is as great a rascal as the Devil wishes him to be; and that though he calls himself a republican, it is not true, but that he is the very reverse; and though he may be a great professor of the Christian Religion, yet in fact he is a real Judas, a traitor to the cause of justice, and a worshipper of Mammon. If they ask what they shall do with their slaves, tell them to give them up to court as bad property—let the court take charge of them. If they say that it would be cruel, and that they would get bad masters, worse than them,—may be so—so says the kept miss; but am I to be damned on that account? No, let every one escape from Sodom, and tarry not in all the plains. Let him save his own soul, clear his skirts, and bear his testimony like Noah, Daniel, &c. I have borne a similar testimony to that above recommended from my youth till now, which is many years; and though I dwell where Satan has set his seal, in this respect, I am not afraid to bear it still longer. Farewell brother, be faithful unto death, and God will give thee a crown of Righteousness."

From a very intelligent gentleman in the lower part of North Carolina, dated

"Nov. 14th, 1823.

"DEAR SIR—Having read several Numbers of your "Genius of Universal Emancipation," I have to acknowledge that I am pleased with the work, and wish heartily that it could be disseminated and read throughout all these United States. The object you aim at in the publication is good, and highly important, and I wish you all success. If I could write like an Addison, or a Cowper, you should have my labors; but I can only help you by taking two or three copies of your paper.

I have shewn some of your numbers to several persons; a few approve of the design of the Editor, and the manner of its

execution, but there are two or three (large slaveholders) who say all such publications ought to be suppressed as injurious to public happiness, and destructive of domestic peace. One man was bold enough to say that I ought to be apprehended and treated as a producer of insurrections, for reading and countenancing such a work. Previous to his saying that, I only read my Numbers in quietness, and left them with one or two of my mildest friends to read, and seldom started the subject as a topic in conversation; but since such a course is reprobated, I will try another—consequently, I now lend out all my Numbers as fast as they come to hand, and keep them going from one to another; and also, whenever prudence will sanction it, I make slavery the topic of fireside conversation. Gentleness and prudence, a friendly boldness and stubborn perseverance, must characterize the man who would be successful against slavery in these states."

A gentleman of high standing, as a politician, in the State of Ohio, writes as follows:

"Your indefatigable labors in endeavoring to remove the blackest stain on the fair reputation of our country, entitle you to the cordial thanks and support of all genuine lovers of liberty; but unfortunately the circumstances of the country, at this time, are such that I fear you do not receive any thing approaching to a compensation for your important services.

The approaching presidential election has produced a powerful excitement of feeling in the conductors of the press throughout the Union. The characters of the candidates have been severely handled, and so much misrepresentation has prevailed, that it is difficult to form a decided preference. One thing is strongly impressed on my mind, that we ought not to vote for any man whose interest or sentiments bear to the side of negro slavery. Beside this, there are serious objections to each of the candidates who have as yet been obtruded on the public notice. Among them however, I am led to prefer Gen. Jackson, *provided* he is a known enemy to negro slavery, of which I am somewhat doubtful."

From a Subscriber in Virginia.

"Having a favorable opportunity at this time, I could not omit writing to thee with an anxious solicitude for thy preservation in the cause thou hast espoused—I have endeavored to give currency to thy paper in

considerable degree, and, among others, I gave several Numbers to our Chancellor to peruse. It appears from a short sentence which he wrote to me, that he gave them a reading. It was in these words—"The object of these papers is a good one; but I think the means used to obtain that object, are very injudiciously chosen. Men are not to be *persuaded* by hard words, abuse, and the ascription of unworthy motives." I may say that I find a number of persons object to subscribing to the paper in consequence of the plain truth coming hard against them."

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

I would wish it to be understood that I do not expect to "*persuade*" the advocates of slavery to do justice. Such persons cannot be honest; and I am not for making a covenant with dishonesty. WE MUST VOTE THEM DOWN.—I believe, or a strong partiality for my country would induce me to suppose, that a majority of my fellow citizens are honest in their opinions; and provided they would THINK, they might SEE the evils of slavery. When they arrive at this point, they will take the power derived from the *Ballot box* into their own hands; and something more effectual than "*persuasion*" will then be brought to bear upon the iniquitous and unprincipled conduct of *Tyrants in disguise*.

From a North Carolina Correspondent.

"It appears to me that the slave holders to a man, among my acquaintance, are unusually agitated: something has caused a great exercise in their minds. The thinking informed part of our citizens seem very serious. Such as are quite limited in knowledge are generally avaricious. They seem unwilling to let a person opposed to them pass along without calumniating him, even if he says but little, unless he joins with them. For two years past I have sent free cotton to market. They have not spared me. The scriptures inform us, when their master's time is nearly out, he'll be in great rage, their servants may rage, they will its likely; but be *thou faithful*."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
SOME CHRISTIAN PROFESSORS WEIGHED IN
THE BALANCE WITH MAHOMETANS AND
FOUND WANTING.

When I meditate on the Divine plan of redemption for sinful man explained in the New Testament, and exemplified therein, by the lives of its holy founder and his immediate followers; and compare the present

practice of a large proportion of professing Christians with it, I am shocked with their great declension, and filled with sensations, awful and astonishing, at the unbounded mercy of God and his long-suffering justice.

When I behold men, professing Christianity, holding in unconditional slavery their fellow creatures, and dooming their guiltless unoffending offspring to a like fate, I am convinced that they wrest its doctrines and pervert its principles to their love of gain and worldly advancement: and I am confounded to think that under the same dignified title, and living in a land so highly extolled and far-famed for liberty and equal rights as this, they are concerned in trafficking for their fellow creatures, buying and selling them as if they were brutes, disregarding the sacred obligations of marriage, or the dearest ties of kindred or friendship; separating the husband and wife; or tearing the weeping offspring from the arms of the distracted parents, and selling them to men who will convey them so far from the dear objects of their love, as to prevent their indulging the most distant idea of again beholding each other in this state of being.

Should any one assert that droves of slaves are driven along the public roads, through many states of this Union, more frequently than droves of horses, cattle, or hogs, we might be ready to scruple his veracity: but the fact is as manifest as the light of the sun; particularly in this State, (N. C.) where there are, at least, five droves of the former to one of the latter. How can these dealers in mankind, profess to look to the Prince of Peace for the salvation of their souls, who commanded his followers, strictly, to do to all men as they would that men should do to them; and continue so presumptuously to oppress their own species? Is it possible that any rational being who is acquainted with this injunction can break it ignorantly?—NO; nor does any one need instruction in its intention, the thing is self-evident: for what man knows so well as himself what he would have another do for him? Nay it is morally impossible that any one should know as well.

Riding on the public road one day, I unexpectedly overtook a drove of these much injured people: among them I saw six good looking men fastened to a long heavy chain: each man was attached to it by one smaller chain, suspended from an iron collar, riveted round his neck, and another fettered to one of his ancles; and some were handcuffed. Thus they had travelled some *huz*,

dreds of miles, till their flesh was wounded in many places by their cruel shackles, (around which old rags were wrapped) and had some hundreds yet to travel in this condition. I was so moved at the sight (though not an uncommon one here) that I was preserved calm with difficulty; I thought of the cries of the poor, and those who had none to help them; and as soon as I got by their side, I said to them, poor suffering mortals what have you done that you are not permitted to walk at liberty? One of them replied, "master we have done nothing; but we are taken from our wives and children, and it was well known, that we could not be brought away unless confined that we could not get away." While this man was speaking, deeply felt sorrow was visible in the countenances and deportment of the rest. Thus I left them limping painfully along, unable to comfort, to succour, or to release them.

Some may perhaps imagine, after perusing the preceding remarks, that I have endeavoured to state the utmost scope of my information on the subject; but the case is quite the reverse, I have described only a small part of my knowledge of suffering humanity; nor was it my design in this essay to pursue that subject; but to compare slave holding professors of Christianity with slave holding professors of Mahometanism, in order to discover which of them are most Christian in practice.

I believe that by the will of Divine Providence; Judah Paddock, and James Riley, have drank deep of the bitter cup of slavery, on the coast of Africa; in a part of that land whence so many thousand persons have been brought, and they and their descendants doomed to drink the dregs of the same cup in our country *styled* Christian; and after having been enabled to endure an extremity of torture far surpassing belief that humanity could support, they and a train of fellow suffering witnesses, have been restored to their native home.

The narratives of these persons, have excited a curiosity which has been the means of diffusing considerable information among the United States' population, respecting the manners and customs of the Arabians. Leaving us without excuse; for why should we consider the conduct of the wandering inhabitant of the desert so execrable, who by *oppression* makes slaves of Christians and appropriates their property to his own use, when we do the same by Africans? Nay, when we consider that the Mahometan acts thus by the sanctions and under the in-

fluence of fanatical delusion, being taught to regard a Christian as the enemy of his prophet's doctrine, he appears to have better ground for his conduct than the Christian professor whose only motive in making slaves of Africans is gain. And surely the Mahometan is more Christian in his practice than those Christian professors who deal in slaves. For though the Arab who sometimes risks his life in making a Christian his slave, knows that if he be ransomed it will be great gain to him; yet if his slave will profess himself converted to the true faith (for so he calls his belief) and will become a Mahometan, the bonds of slavery are broken, and, from the condition of a slave, the new convert is raised to equality with his master, and is entitled to all the privileges of a native Arab. But the Christian purchases a slave intending to reap the fruits of his labour, and should he become a convert to the TRUE FAITH, his conversion avails him nothing *here*; his master beholds him only as his slave; therefore his shackles remain and his bonds bind him with the same degree of severity.

Reader whoever thou art, and whatever may be thy profession and practice, I do not desire to offend thee. I am persuaded that I state the truth, and I am convinced that *truth* will prevail over interest, selfishness, and error, I am sensible of an awful reverence for the Gospel of Christ, and earnestly and sincerely desire that the day may arrive, when all who profess his principles shall profess his spirit too, and not be Christians only in name but "Israelites in whom there is no guile."

Judah Paddock states in his narrative, that while himself and other slaves were on their journey to Mogadore in company with Ahamed their Arabian master and some Arabs, being much fatigued and suffering with thirst, they arrived at the gate of a town where they waited to receive the usual salutation of the inhabitants, but contrary to their expectation, and contrary to the manner of the Arabs among whom they had hitherto travelled, the people attended to their own particular occupations and took no notice of them: finding themselves disappointed, they awoke a man who was lying on the ground asleep outside the gate, and asked him for a bowl to drink out of. He rose and without regarding their request walked into the town; when Ahamed perceiving they were entirely unheeded, ordered one of the boys in company to go and take one. The boy after walking some distance found one and brought it to them.

After they had allayed their thirst at a well which was near, Ahamed desired them to go on, and would not, according to the usual practice with the Arabs of replacing a thing whence it was taken, suffer them to return the bowl. A conduct so different excited Judah Paddock's curiosity, and the following conversation took place between him and Ahamed. "Such fellows," says Ahamed, "are not fit to live." Upon Paddock's asking him "who they were," "they belong," he replied, "to a sect called Foulah; they will not mix with the other inhabitants, but choose to live altogether by themselves, and are so stupid, that if the Emperor of Morocco should march an army to cut off the whole race of them, they would not defend themselves, but would die like tools, as they are." J. Paddock enquired if they used fire arms. "No," Ahamed said, "they make no use of them, and if God were pleased to send a Christian ship ashore near them, they would not seize upon the goods, nor upon the men, nor would they buy a slave of any kind." J. P. asked Ahamed if they were numerous. "No," he said, "they are not numerous, but the dwellings you see on the sides of the hills yonder are theirs, and in many other places are they to be found, and wherever they are they always keep together by themselves." Finally J. P. asked if they were Mahometans. "Yes," he answered, "they are, or else we would destroy them; they are poor ignorant dogs, and but little better than Christians."

I have inserted this extract to shew, that among barbarians as we call these people, there are some who will have no lot or part in what oppression only can make theirs. Remember that faith without works is dead, as the body without the soul. And of what can such Christian professors boast more than Mahometans? It must be their faith only and that without works of charity, and all the other good fruits of Christ's spirit, namely: loving our neighbors, kindness to the poor, undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free. Does not the state of such Christians appear very like that of Nebuchadnezzar, who after confessing that he believed the spirit of the Holy Gods was in Daniel, did not regard that prophet's counsel nevertheless this belief was so rooted that he chose him, before all the wise men of his empire, to interpret the dream that troubled him: but this belief was not faith, otherwise he would not have persisted in those evil ways for which he was driven from the society of men, and

made as the beasts of the field. Are not these things preserved for our instruction? Is it not fit that we should compare ourselves with both ancient and modern workers of righteousness? We have the histories of the holy patriarchs and prophets; and the histories of Christ, and his disciples and martyrs. These things the Chaldeans had not, nor have the Mahometans them at this day; therefore they cannot be condemned by us—but as the Rechabites, for their strict adherence to the commandment of their fathers, were called in to condemn the Jews, Jer. xxxv. I do not see why the Mahometans will not rise in judgment against those Christians who have not the spirit of Christ, and condemn them.

A FRIEND TO TRUTH.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation,
TO CHRISTIAN PROFESSING SLAVEHOLDERS.

In these halcyon days of republican sentiment, and freedom of the press, much is said about the manumission of slaves. Although tautology is very disgusting to the natural genius of man, yet I think a few things might be added on that great and important subject of slavery; and as a free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most invaluable rights of men, it would be well for all zealous partizans to examine themselves, lest they should be found no better than the Pharisees of old time, of whom it hath been said that they kept the outside of the platter clean, which is more than many have done in these latter days. If I should give all my goods to the poor, and my body to be bound, and have not charity, I am nothing. These things being premised, &c. I may say that I first breathed, and was also raised, in a slaveholding part of this Union: and I may further observe, with much humility, and great thankfulness, that I was preserved out of that contagious evil of slaveholding, as I call it. I have long been acquainted with many of the slaveholders, and have found them as just in their dealings in general as the non-slaveholders. I have been often led into astonishment how to reconcile these matters, admitting that they, or at least some of them, are just and honorable unto all except their poor slaves, whom they treat as they please, and there is none to take account thereof. There is certainly the greater danger of doing wrong, for they act like absolute kings and princes, who do whatsoever they will, and give account to none. As a solution of the foregoing, I leave it to some of the aforesaid class of people.

to tell us why men should not be just unto all without distinction of nation or people, age or sex. "So I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun, and beheld the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter, and on the side of the oppressors there was power." I know you have it in your power to treat your slaves kindly or otherwise—therefore, be solicited, dear people, to treat them with humanity in all respects; give them food and raiment suitable to their condition, and do not require more than a reasonable portion of labor at their hands; and those that are young and rising in life, give them a portion of school education, so as to fit them for liberty; this would be a great thing, far better than silver or gold; this would be enabling them to get sight of the sacred volume, and other good books, all of which is like a feast to the mind. O the mind of man! what a wonderful piece of machinery, ever in motion, sleeping or waking—let us use all diligence to keep it in the pure paths of honor and rectitude.—Goldsmith says: "The Circassian young women are brought up by their mothers, who teach them embroidery, and to make their own dress and that of their future husbands. The daughters of their slaves receive the same education." Our sages of the present day have said but little about what is to be done with the blacks should emancipation become general. I have long been of the opinion that it would be expedient for our government to lay off a certain tract or parcel of land some where in the regions of the south, for their reception, which would be congenial to their natural constitution; a land where they could accumulate property and enjoy the many blessings of life; and where they could live far remote from the many direful wars in Africa, the land of their nativity; and so, also, that the whites might enjoy the many blessings in their native land, and thereby prevent that unnatural generation which is to be seen in almost every town and petty village, and sometimes about the plantations of our grandees. By means of sending the blacks away, we could preserve that beautiful white skin which our great Creator hath been pleased to give to some of his children, but not to all. I say it is a very desirable thing to continue in our native purity, without the smallest tincture of the sable sons or daughters of the torrid zone; and if any of our gallants should desire the ladies of colour, let them take a ride as far as the Athmus of Darien, or even further, where

they may find a variety of shades in the human aspect.

I will not so far affront your good understanding as to tell you that slavery is wrong, as I believe you see that as clearly as you see the sun in its meridian. I stand as a supplicant on the part of that great suffering portion of the human family who have no opportunity, in a popular way, to intercede for themselves. And as I have requested nothing more than what would be reasonable and salutary, I therefore most sincerely intreat you, my friends, to do all that lays in your power to wash away that odious stain which slavery hath brought on the christian religion, the great author of which hath said, we are his friends if we do whatsoever he commands us. When shall I have to say for you and myself as Pyrrhus said of the Roman Senator—"Admirable Fabricius," cried he, "it would be as easy to turn the sun from its course as thee from the paths of honour."—When shall we have to say of our beloved white women as Mungo Park hath said in the course of his long and perilous travels in Africa, of the black women there? "I do not recollect," said he, "a single instance of hard heartedness in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness, I found them uniformly kind and compassionate." And when shall we have to say for ourselves as the ancient prophet hath said when he challenged the whole house of Israel to shew whom he had oppressed or defrauded; and if any there should be, he would restore them fourfold? What signifies a few fleeting days of pomp and grandeur, with stately houses and brilliant equipage, in comparison with that inexpressible, ineffable, never ending felicity of the righteous? It is the better class of slaveholders that I have been addressing. As to the wicked and unbelieving, who are drifting down the tide of time to the dreary caverns of despair, unto these I have nothing to say. And now, above all things, dear people, let us not deceive ourselves, seeing it is impossible to join the two kingdoms together, the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of antichrist. "Such as men sow such they may expect to reap." So it is in things natural, and so it is in things supernatural. Truth is truth, and though all men should forsake it, yet it remains to be the same pure and undefiled principle, and will be so as long as Jehovah sitteth on his majestic throne, that eternal seat of justice, yea verily, and Amen.

Your sincere friend and

BELLOW TRAVELLER.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

VA SCRAP.

So Philadelphus, king of Egypt, thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him an abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceedingly proper for him to do; and therefore, he wrote to the Jewish High Priest, that he should act accordingly. Now there was one Aristaeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and, on account of his modesty, very acceptable to him. This Aristaeus resolved frequently to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition; so he discoursed in the first place, with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibus and Andreas, and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly, Aristaeus, with those that have been before mentioned, went to the king and made the following speech to him: It is not for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open: for since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews translated, but interpreted also, to thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and thy good nature. Free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God who supported thy kingdom was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular enquiry; both these people and we also, worship the same God, the Maker of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of Zevi, or life, because he breathes life into all men:—Wherefore, do thou restore these men to their own country; and this do to the honor of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this, farther, that though I be not akin to them, yet do I desire these favors to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God;—and I am sensible he is well pleased with those that do good. I do, therefore, put up this petition to thee to do good to them.

When Aristaeus was saying this, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance and said: How many men thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?—To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said: *A few more than ten times ten thousand.*—

The king made answer: And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristaeus? But Sosibus and the rest that stood by, said, that he ought to offer such a thank offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom. With this answer he was much pleased, and gave order that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down an hundred and twenty drachmae for every one of the slaves; and he promised to publish a magnificent decree about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristaeus had promised, and especially what God willed should be done.—*Flavius Josephus.*

When shall we have such a ruler as the aforementioned?—Such a man for president as Philadelphus was, who will open his heart and bestow his treasures as he did, and give a ransom for the redemption of the many ten thousands of the poor gentile slaves that are within our borders, or at least some of them. If I had a yearly salary of twenty-five thousand dollars, I could spare nine-tenths thereof for the good of the poor, and then have a balance of the greatest plenty to support myself and family, with industry and frugality. The wife and children of our President can have no better plea for idleness than the poorest wife and children in the Union could have.

CAROLIANUS.

From the Harrison Telegraph.

That the people of Kentucky and Missouri should be in favor of promoting a man of Mr. Clay's principles to the Presidential chair, is not surprising; but that men who are clothed with authority and acting as the guardians of the people of the free and independent state of Ohio should thus espouse the cause of a man who has distinguished himself by his indefatigable exertions to extend and perpetuate the curse of Slavery, is really to be regretted. Citizens of Ohio! Have you forgot the course taken by this champion on the famous Missouri question? Who ever heard Henry Clay advocate the cause of the free labourer of the United States? We hope you will take these things into consideration yourselves, and not be influenced by the proceedings of any legislative caucus.

From the same.

We have really been surprised to observe the avidity with which some of our Ohio editors have seized upon every paragraph that came within their reach, which breathed a single sentiment favourable to

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Mr. Clay, of Kentucky. Every artifice has been resorted to, to prove that he is not in reality favourable to the principles of slavery! but it all will not do, among a people that can *think and act* for themselves. It is a stubborn fact, that Mr. Clay is not only a practical slaveholder himself, but that he has been *particularly* instrumental in adding to the number of our slaveholding states.

It is thought by some, that we should not be too tenacious on these points—that the election of president has nothing to do with them, &c. but when we find that the deepest laid schemes are in embryo, to extend the curse of slavery over the whole union, or at least as far as it can possibly be pushed—when we find that the people of Virginia will not elect a man to congress who is favorable to Mr. Adams' promotion to the presidency, because he is not an advocate for the slaveholding interest, it is high time for us to be on the alert also.—“By their deeds ye shall know them;” and, “he that is not for us is against us.” These are maxims which should be kept in mind by every friend to freedom and liberty in the United States; and the fact that Mr. Adams' opposition to the extension of slavery is made use of as an objection to him, by the slaveholders, is tolerable good evidence of his being, in that respect, such a man as we ought to support.

The influence of the President, in the councils of our National Assembly, is very great, and it is generally admitted that if Mr. Monroe had been opposed to the extension of slavery, Missouri would never have got into the Union, as a state, with the Constitution which she presented, and is now governed by.

From the Western Herald.

From present appearances, it would seem that the southern states will vote for Crawford, the eastern for Adams, and the western (except Ohio) for Clay—of course New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio will decide the election. Their interests being the same, as regards the great questions of the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and internal improvements, it is probable they will go together. When it is recollected that the people of these three states were almost unanimous upon the question of the restriction of slavery in Missouri, it cannot be reasonably supposed that they will so soon *change their principles*, as to support for the presidency either a slaveholder or an advocate for the extension of slavery. The whole number of votes for

the presidency will be 260, of which 150 are from non-slaveholding, and 110 from slaveholding states, as follows:

Slave holding States.		Non-Slave holding.	
Maryland	11	Maine	9
Virginia	24	N. Hampshire	8
North Carolina	15	Massachusetts	15
South Carolina	11	Rhode Island	4
Georgia	9	Connecticut	8
Alabama	4	Vermont	7
Mississippi	3	New York	36
Louisiana	5	New Jersey	8
Tennessee	11	Pennsylvania	28
Kentucky	14	Delaware	3
Missouri	3	Ohio	16
		Indiana	5
		Illinois	5
	110		150

It will thus be seen that the non-slave holding states have a majority of 40 votes; it is, of course, in the power of those states to elect the President.

From the Belmont Journal.

The people of Ohio are generally opposed to slaveholding; and, why not elevate to the HEAD of this great Republic, a man who believes and practices the PRINCIPLES of Freedom, so fully declared and so strongly guarded in the Constitution. It is a curious fact that four of the five Presidents of the United States, elected under the Constitution, that Constitution which was ordained to secure the blessings of Liberty, have been slaveholders. Liberty and Slavery cannot always exist together, one or the other must eventually predominate. The people of free States ought to be cautious how they elect slaveholders to office. The number of slaveholding states, has been late considerably augmented—at the rate slavery has progressed for some years, must eventually preponderate, and become general.—It belongs to the people of Ohio to oppose this course of things. Why not make a President of some man, who respects the rights of his fellow men? Some man, who can travel through the State without being attended by a crowd of abject cringing slaves? Some man, who does not make merchandise of the souls of men?

If we have no citizen of our own, who we think proper to offer as a candidate at the next election, let us wait a little and see, if our sisters New York or Pennsylvania, or some other of the free States will not propose a candidate, who may govern the nation as well, and suit our circumstances better.

FROM NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER.

JAMAICA.

(Continued from page 56.)

When Jamaica was taken from the Spaniards in 1655, the slaves, about 1500 only in all, on the surrender of their masters, retreated to the mountains, and began to act for themselves like freemen. They soon acquired the name of *Maroons*, and were considerably reinforced by slaves; for they first received such as fled to them. In less than eight years such had been the amount of their depredations, or, perhaps, more correctly speaking, the effects of the war which they carried on, that a full pardon with 20 acres of land and freedom from all manner of servitude, were offered to each one who would surrender himself. They preferred their own independent way of living—they checked the approach of the whites, and defeated party after party, force for force, attempting to subdue them. Various embassies were sent to them, but they refused to treat. By the year 1730, the colony had spent no less than 240,000*l.* for their suppression, and hundreds of lives had been lost. At this time, a great chief, named Cudjoe, appearing among them—he collected them more together, built a town at the top of the mountains, and two whole regiments were sent to reduce him: several battles took place, and the blacks were defeated at length, and much dispersed. But they renewed the contest—they secretly crept into the settlements, fired the cane-fields and out-houses, carried off slaves, and killed many of the whites. This destructive war was dreadful to the planters and the troops. Great efforts were made to end it: *the church wardens were required to furnish blood hounds and a pack of dogs, to hunt the negroes; and, in 1737, 200 Mosquito Indians were induced to leave their country and assist in the destruction of the little band of Maroons, and they were much service: yet, in 1738, the British were reduced to the necessity of making a treaty with them, assigning them land and securing it to their posterity, and the Maroons, on their part, agreed not to harbor runaway slaves, or commit depredations. After some time, this treaty ceased to prove much good to the whites, who were jealous of the blacks, and in continual dread of their power. The wild boars, land crabs, pigeons, fish and various vegetables, furnished them with abundance of provisions, and the wild pine supplied them with wine—their manner and habits were of the vilest and roughest character, more those*

of brutes than of men. In 1768 they assisted the whites in suppressing an insurrection of the slaves; but, in 1795, on account of the punishment of some of their members for felony, they took up arms again. The alarm was great—troops were forwarded, and agents sent to them. They received the latter, and under arms—there were only 300 of them; but nothing effectual was done. All the horrors of St. Domingo were anticipated? Nearly 2000 regular troops, and the whole of the neighboring militia, were prepared to act against them. Some fighting, attended with peculiarly savage circumstances, took place, many on both sides being killed; among the latter was the commander of the British troops, col. Sandford; but the Maroons, though compelled to retire by the force of numbers, were not subdued—they appeared again and again, burning, robbing and destroying; they carried off thirty negroes from one plantation loaded with spoil, and, like our Indians, slaughtered child-bed women and infants at the breast. They surprised col. Fitch, who succeeded Sandford, and killed him with several of his officers and men. Neither courage nor conduct could avail against them. *Dogs* were proposed to be introduced again; the entire strength of the colony was put forth, and the expense had amounted to 500,000*l.* It was suggested that a treaty had best be made with them—it was, by many opposed, as derogatory to the honor of the British throne. *Forty Spanish hunters and an hundred blood hounds had arrived from Cuba—and some of the Maroons became desirous of peace. At length another treaty was concluded, in December 1795, in which it was stipulated that they should not be compelled to leave the island. The legislature of Jamaica, however, found some defect in the treaty, and declared it not binding!—and the end was, that they were forcibly sent off to Nova Scotia, in June 1796, at the cost of the colony. Now, this people, on account of whom the British had made such a vast expenditure of life and treasure, probably never amounted to more than two thousand persons, of either sex and all ages, at any one time! In 1791—before they made the last treaty, their whole number was estimated at only 1400; and it may be easily believed that, if the British had respected the obligations of the treaty made with them as a free people, they would have preserved their independence until this day: and it requires no casuist to shew, that they were as justly entitled to it, and the possession of the whole*

island also, if they could obtain it by arms, as the British—who, by arms, had subjected it. It is *might* that gives “legitimacy” to conquest. Alexander, “the deliverer,” has his white slaves, and why might not king Cudjoe have white ones or blacks ones, if he *could*—the Maroons being the *nobility* of Jamaica? “Corinthian pillars” of its society? the “prop and stay of the throne?”

These brief sketches, though familiar to some, will be new to others, and not useless to any. “What has been, may be.” And the facts here stated are sufficient to shew, that Hayti cannot be reduced unless the people submit of their own free will, or are subdued by the treachery of invaders on whom they may rely. But neither of these are probable things. They are too numerous and powerful, and too well informed to make a general submission, or suffer a deportation, like that of the Maroons. The country is destined to be peopled by blacks until the “Ethiopian changes his skin” or “chaos comes again,” and the island shall be one no more. This is the truth, and we ought to look at it. To shut our own eyes against the light, will not lessen the light to others, preserve ourselves from their observation, or defeat their designs.

But to these essential facts must be added a consideration of the real conduct of Hayti. The people have a regular and enlightened government of the republican form—more liberal, perhaps, in its operation than any now existing in Europe, those of Great Britain and Spain only excepted. Colleges have been established, and common schools are multiplied. The superior branches of science and the most useful of the arts, are protected and encouraged. The public offices are filled by native citizens of talents and character—they have their judges and courts, and other establishments, like ourselves; and the business of them is conducted with as much accuracy and promptitude as in those of other nations. They have a legislative assembly, and a full proportion of orators and statesmen; and they rather abound with military skill. They have regular arsenals and magazines, well supplied with all the useful implements of war, and a powerful regular army. The press is freer than in France, Russia, Austria or Prussia, and it is well conducted; and, in general, what may be called the *present* generation, that is, persons between 20 and 30 years of age, are as well informed and as highly accomplished, as those of the greater part of Europe. The President, Boyer, is an able general and a

profound statesman. If we regard the various difficulties that his predecessor, Pétion, and himself have had to encounter, the peculiarity of the *population* over whom they had to preside, the internal wars, the *location* of Hayti, and the condition of the adjacent Islands, we must grant to them uncommon displays of wisdom and energy, and a sense of moderation and justice that should put the rulers of the old world to shame. They had maintained the laws of nations and respected the rights of others, though they owed so little to those laws or to a respect for those rights by others. It would have been almost naturally supposed, that the Haytians—just liberated from personal slavery, a state in which they were regarded as mere *working machines* without thought or the *right of thinking* must have sunk into all sorts of extravagance, and have made a common war on the oppressors of their *colour*: but, happily we may venture to say, for themselves and their neighbors, the massacre of the whites did not produce safety to the blacks—they were divided into parties carrying on a cruel and desolating war, one with another. Personal security demanded an observance of public right; private danger brought forth talent; talent produced order, and common sense, impelled by the common necessity raised up and established a government. The person who lately handled a hoe, at the will of his master, wielded a sword and commanded thousands of his fellows, *citizens and soldiers*; and he who recently was not the chief even of the miserable hovel in which he lived, was called upon to preside over matters of the state! The volcano of the revolution and the terrible crucible of war, softened and purified their minds, and compelled them to reflect and *calculate consequences*. A spirit of inquiry was imposed by a sense of self preservation and despised negroes have become men and women, who, unless for the reason of their colour, would not be any where rejected on account of their manners; and religion, the great rule over the passions, is observed and respected by them as much as by others, who claim a much higher grade in the scale of civilization. I speak of things as they are. The fact is, that persons and property are more safe in Hayti than in many nations of white people. The classic ground of Italy is infested by bands of ferocious robbers, or over-run with swarms of beggars and petty thieves. Hayti has but few of either of these. There is more of either class in the city of Naples

than in this republic of blacks—more, perhaps, even in the “eternal city,” Rome, tho’ the residence of the Pope, the spiritual head of the most numerous church among Christians. (*Co.usion in next Number.*)

ILLINOIS.

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Illinois to the Editor of the Scioto Gazette, published at Chillicothe, Ohio.

“The voice of the people of this state is in favor of Henry Clay, as our next President. I know letter-writing is considered as a species of electioneering, but I esteem the people of Illinois too highly to let the misrepresentations of a few interested individuals be circulated far and wide uncontradicted. This state will not desert the great interests of the west, in the selection of a candidate for an office so important as that of President of the United States.

I believe the Convention Ticket will succeed; but whether slavery will be admitted or no is very doubtful. Two parties are already formed; but the moderate men will govern both. If we be *cursed with slavery*, it will be *limited* in such a manner as to do away most of its objectionable features,* & placed on nearly similar grounds as it originally was in Pennsylvania, New York, and other free states. All born after a certain day to be free; provisions to be made for their education, and, as I am informed, for their ultimate return to Africa, or some point selected by the Colonization Society for their reception! Should this be executed in *good faith*, happy will it be for Illinois even to stop here; and this rising state, which has already had the honor of being the first to abolish imprisonment for debt, would likewise have the glory of being the first to emancipate the unfortunate Africans, educate them, and restore them to their native shores! Such a course would only hold out, perhaps, an inducement to those who own slaves, and wish to emancipate them, to come to this country, and might stop the emigration from the free states. Be this as it may, however highly

[“So then the “objectionable features” of a “curse” may be so limited as to be no longer objectionable! Most admirable logic!!

† Ah! truly—this is a precious confession! “It would stop the emigration from the free States.”—And in case a majority of the people shall turn out to be emigrants from the Slave States, who shall have removed thither with their Slaves to enhance their fortunes (so-called adventurers, like

I may esteem the northern people, as a candid man I will but remark that this climate and country is better calculated for a southern than a northern population.

“I believe that the moderate party, should slavery on a limited scale succeed, will endeavor to avoid coming in contact with the provisions of the cession from Virginia to the United States, and the ordinance for the government of the North Western Territory.

BLACK LIST.

Extract of a letter from a subscriber to the Genius of Universal Emancipation residing in the interior of Louisiana, to the editor.

“I cannot say that I think the papers have been of much public utility here, altho’

a great many in the other new slave sections) what will prevent them from extending the “curse” indefinitely?—But in the next paragraph he says, the “moderate party” will avoid coming in contact with the Ordinance of Congress, &c. This is impossible, if slavery be tolerated there. That ordinance positively prohibits it; and the abominable system cannot be introduced, in any shape, without interfering with its clearest provisions. The only effect that the introduction of slavery in that state would have, under whatever guise it might appear, would be to stop the emigration of free labourers, both from the South and the North; introduce a set of dissipated masters and miserable thievish slaves; involve the State in legal difficulties with the General Government, and entail upon them a “curse,” which would hang like a millstone to their necks for ages, perhaps, and retard their march in the way of improvement and prosperity. I hope the people of Illinois will not listen to the siren song of the vulture, who in this instance, like the jack-daw, shrouds himself in borrowed plumage. On a recurrence to the map it will appear that the State of Illinois is nearly in the latitude of Pennsylvania; and from the experience of more than two years, I am prepared to deny the assertion that “this country is better calculated for a southern than a northern population.” The writer of the foregoing appears to labour under too strong a bias to state the case fairly. He would fain make us believe that he is one of a “moderate party” there;—like Randolph’s “dough-faced gentry,” perhaps; any thing, if an office is in view.—Moderation and oppression coupled together! *Outrageous moderation!* this!!!] G. U. Emancipator.

many have read them, as the people are generally so prejudiced in favor of their favorite system of slavery, that I believe no reasoning could convince them of the evil, unless a "Deity should stand revealed before them launching thunder at their heads." The people in the particular settlement where I now live are mostly French; they have not many slaves, in proportion to what there are in other parts of the State; but the cause of it is poverty, as they will almost starve themselves in order to save money, "pour acheter les negres." There are always droves of them in N. Orleans for sale, which have been brought from Va. and Maryland, and it is not uncommon to see blacks here held as slaves for life, that have been born in the free states, as free as their tyrannical masters. I am very doubtful whether this State, which is naturally the finest and most luxuriant part of the U. S. will not ere long be filled with the most despotic petty lordlings of any place in the known world; as there are hundreds and thousands of slaves brought into it every year from the other states, which if persisted in, for a few years, may render it indeed a "New St. Domingo" with all its horrors.

I have lived in Mississippi one year, which by its inhabitants is said to be the most easy place on the poor negroes, of any in this part of the country; and some of the inhabitants make a boast of their having no need of patrolling, &c. but there were so many circumstances similar to those under the "Black List" fell under my observation while there, that I can truly say they are "legion." The subject matter of the following, if thought worthy of a place, may be published.—

A negro on Pearl River, belonging to —, was persuaded by some villainous rogue to run away from his master and go with him to Red river, where he promised to give him his liberty, but no doubt intended to sell him there. After being absent for some days, he was apprehended and brought to his owner, who confined him in stocks, so that he could move neither hand nor foot, and gave him 100 LASHES on the bare back, every one cutting and mangling the flesh in a most dismal manner, promising to give him the same portion on the next day! This the inhuman monster prepared to do, and was in the act of leading him up to the post, when the unfortunate victim thinking it better to realize one death than suffer an hundred, drew a large knife from his pocket and cut his own

throat!!! He fainted and fell for loss of blood, and for many days was considered to be mortally wounded; but on enquiring after him from his master about a week after, he replied, he believed the — would recover, which he accordingly did. I could fill many sheets with accounts of similar circumstances which came under my particular knowledge in that humane part of the country; but my limits will not permit. *Adieu.*

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation. OPPRESSION.

"So I returned, and considered all the Oppressions that are done under the sun; and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforters; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter. ECCLES. IV. 1.

I hear the heterogeneous sound of human Tongues, from ev'ry nation, clan, and tribe—that

People this great bedlam earth, groaning in Tears beneath the weight of woe, by man Inflicted on his fellow man. Nor are Those groans aught but the voice of blood, which were

From murder'd justice drain'd, cry'ng to God

For help; & which he hears, & in due time He will avenge the wrong. The lips of truth Hath said, that the Oppressor shall forever Cease, and the oppress'd, be wrested from his Paw. Quite from the days of Cain, down to the

Flood, oppression reign'd with unrelenting Rage; then from proud Nimrod, took a second

Rise, which has continued to this very day. O! what a fiend is man, when he breaks loose From virtue's strong restraints, and rushes down

The stream of sinful nature's flowing tide! In vain I look around amongst the herds Of brutes, to find his equal in rapacious Deeds: lions, tigers, wolves, and fierce hyenas,

Their own species ne'er annoy, nor prey on Their own kind, like men. I see the heavy Chains, man makes to bind his brother with, and

Hear the loud convulsive sigh break from the

Petter'd slave's deep tortur'd soul, like
 peals of
 Thunder bursting from the cloud, or Nature's
 Final groan; which have long since reach'd
 to the
 Chrystal skies, & vengeance reddens as they
 Rise to the Omnipotent. Emprors & kings,
 Popes, mitre'd prelates, and high pamper'd
 priests,
 With petty tyrants of still meaner name,
 (Those scourges of the peopl'd earth, and
 pests
 Of human kind) each their wits employ'd
 In forging chains to bind their fellow men,
 That they might riot on oppression's spoils.
 Guns, swords, & spears, from Vulcan's flam-
 ming forge;
 And from grim Pluto's Sulph'ry realm,
 knotty
 Whips, racks, Inquisitions, blood extorting
 Screws, with num'rous other instruments of
 Torture dire, are brought to earth by artful
 Men, to punish their weak brothers with, up
 To the brim, to fill their cup of woe.
 Are Christian nations guilty of these crimes?
 Ah yes! but tell it not in pagan climes,
 Where missionaries roam in eager search
 Of proselytes, lest they retort, and send,
 Indignant, the intruders home. Far fam'd
 Columbia, blush!—Hang down thy head, &
 Be ashamed:—Even in thy great republic,
 Boastful of freedom's broadest streaming
 flag,
 The chains of bondage find a strong support,
 And thousands feel their fretting, galling
 weight.
 Marble hearted villains unmolested
 Prowl throughout thy states in quest of hu-
 man
 Prey; and hundreds drive of their own kind,
 in
 Chains, to some curst market for the souls of
 Men, without remorse for such outrages
 On humanity. And what the horrid
 Crime, for which they're doom'd to suffer,
 thus?
 The offence is great.....No less than having
 Skins of sable hue, and woolly heads in
 Place of having hair; a sin so great, that
 Pardon for the fault can ne'er be had:
 Yet if their color be a crime, it is
 The crime of heaven, & not of them, which
 To despise, is insult to the pow'r that
 Blame them so. Why are your laws so
 mute on
 This great point? say why, republicans? has
 The black prince of night lull'd you to
 sleep,
 And made you dream such black and hel-
 lish deeds

Are fully right? Awake, and burst their
 bonds
 By dint of legal power, and let them have
 Those rights you hold so dear, ere vengeance
 dire,

Shall burst upon your heads.

VALLEY WARBLER.

WRITTEN ON HAVING MY GILT POCKET BIBLE
 STOLEN BY A BLACK MAN.

(Concluded from page 64.)

Here, let us imagine the rogue had a plea,
 My betters are verily guilty as me!
 The trade's become common, as all the
 world knows;
 From prelates so great to your smart col-
 lege beaux.
 Each man has his price, so the infidels swear!
 And pulpits see truth like the forum and
 bar.
 The velvet strain'd Doctor, who softens his
 text,
 This world his delight, though a guide to
 the next;
 Sells truth with a witness, to make it con-
 nive,
 At every ill practice the wealthy contrives;
 Each finical priest and polite pulpiteer,
 Who dazzles the fancy, and tickles the ear,
 With exquisite tropes, and a musical style;
 As gay as a tulip, as polish'd as oil;
 Sells truth at the shrine of polite eloquence,
 To please the soft taste and allure the gay
 sense:

Nor is he less guilty who seasons with wit,
 Keen satire or humor, the Lord's holy writ;
 Does e'er Saul of Tarsus direct to a text
 That makes us cry this breath, and titter
 the next?

Mayhap the poor black had some latent in-
 tent,

And thought by his conduct to give it a vent:
 He might feel a fancy to favor his plan,
 'Twas no greater crime than to pilfer a man!
 The argument's just & I feel its sharp edge;
 It cuts like a razor, & cleaves like a wedge;
 Strikes home to my reason, I blush in a
 minute;

And feel all the truth and the reason that's
 in it;

A bible to steal, is a theft it is true, man,
 But stealing and slaving the blacks, is inhu-
 man.

TERMS OF THIS PAPER.

Published monthly, at *One Dollar* per an-
 num, payable in advance. The difficulty
 in collecting small sums at a distance ren-
 ders a strict adherence to this rule neces-
 sary.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." — *Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 8. Vol. III:

TWELFTH MONTH, 1823.

WHOLE No. 36.

UNITED STATES' SLAVE TRADE.

REMARKS ON THE ODIOUS AND BARBAROUS TRAFFIC IN HUMAN FLESH, CARRIED ON IN THIS REPUBLIC, UNDER THE VERY EYE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATION, AND WITH THE IMPLIED SANCTION OF GOVERNMENT—RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED TO

AMERICAN LEGISLATORS.

Qui non vetat peccare cum possit jubet.

Salus populi suprema est lex.

Mirantur taciti, et dubio profulmine pend.

It would seem to be a matter of astonishment to any who are possessed of the rational faculties belonging to the human race, and unbiased by the prejudice of education or the familiarity of vicious habit, to view the inconsistency of many of our greatest statesmen, as regards the treatment extended to a portion of the population, native, as well as foreign, of this continent. They have openly denounced the traffic in slaves, *by sea*, as piracy, and exerted themselves to induce other nations to follow the example.—They have repeatedly declared to the world, in the most plain and unequivocal terms, that every individual who bears on his forehead the impress of human nature, is entitled to the rights and privileges of FREEDOM, which have been given as a birthright inheritance, and which he claims as the bounty of Heaven; that every creature possessed of an immortal soul, whom the author of his being hath seen fit to place here as a free agent, accountable only to HIM for the use or abuse of the power with which he is vested, should, as long as he refrains from an interference with the concerns of others, be permitted to roam o'er the earth unrestricted and unmolested.—Yet, notwithstanding these positive and pointed declarations; notwithstanding they have been promulgated in every quarter of the habitable globe where science and civilization have extended their influence; notwithstanding they are recorded in the annals of the world, and the names of their authors occupy the highest niche in the temple of Fame, attracting the gaze of the most distant beholder, still, we are taught by a review of every day occurrences, that all these things are, in

many instances, utterly disregarded, or that a morbid insensibility has taken such fast hold of our statesmen as to cause them, in great measure, to lose sight of consistency. It would, indeed, rather appear that by some it is viewed as a negative virtue, which may be altogether dispensed with.

We see, tho it is painful to relate the fact, that with all the protestations we have heard against tyranny and oppression within the bounds of this Republic, which has been pompously and ostentatiously denominated "*The Land of Liberty*," an "*asylum for the oppressed of all nations*," &c. many who have assumed the title to superiority, in point of political virtue, among us, can look on with perfect indifference, and even tolerate, the most odious petty tyranny, and the most barbarous traffic in human flesh & blood, that ever has been witnessed in any age or nation! If we go to the despotic realms of Algiers, China, or Japan; if we visit the stupid menials who render implicit obedience to the imperious Autocrat of the North, or the vainglorious Sultan of the East; in fine, if we search the remotest bounds, of the pagan world, where shall we find a more abject, degraded, maltreated set of beings than are to be met with in this blessed country of bibles, of churches, of Colleges, Christians and republicans?—Go, my countrymen, and visit those floating bazars, the slave boats, on our western waters—observe the caravans of human plunder, driven in chains through the streets of our cities and towns—see the bodies and limbs of these poor wretches mangled with fetters, and lacerated with the scourge, by some brutal tyrant, in the shape of a *republican*, for the *same thing* of which we so proudly boast—a desire to enjoy the precious boon, and to support the heaven-born principle, of freedom, that prompts the soul to noble and virtuous deeds.—Take this view of things, and then ask yourselves—Do our Statesmen act consistent with their professions?

Of what avail is it that some, who wish to be distinguished as humane persons, are continually harping upon the one chord, that of the foreign "*Slave trade*," while in our own country, and under our very eyes, a traffic of the *same nature*, com-

dicted upon the same principle of cold blooded cruelty, is permitted to disgrace us in the eyes of the virtuous in every nation under heaven.—Is it impossible to wipe from our brilliant escutcheon this ebony stain, which effaces some of the fairest tints of national honour?—Does our Constitution, or any thing else in nature, authorise us to extend our edicts to the ocean, when we are not permitted to enforce them within our own jurisdiction on the land?—

It is true, the time was, when we thought we had no right to interfere with the traffic in slaves at sea.—The marble hearted creatures who prosecuted that infamous business, were suffered to carry it on a long time unmolested, under the impression that it was a legitimate commerce! So dark was the state of the public mind, that nothing save a bruising of heads, or a chopping of limbs—something that we could feel—seemed calculated to awaken us from our stupor, or make us sensible of the fact, that others were susceptible of pleasure and pain, as well as ourselves:—but,

"Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur, in illis?"

"Men change with fortune, manners change with climes,
Tenets with books, & principles with times."

We have found out, by some means, that negroes are a part of the human family, and are possessed of human feelings; of course, according to strict mercantile phraseology, they will not come under the denomination of articles of trade; but an attempt to deal in them justly merits the gallows. It is to be observed, however, that this rule, holds good only at sea; and that on the land the case is far otherwise.—THE SOIL THAT IS DEDICATED TO FREEDOM, MAKES MAN A SLAVE, THE MOMENT HE SETS HIS FOOT UPON IT!—and it would seem that in the same degree we excel others in a profession of political purity, justice and benevolence, we may exceed them in acts of cruel tyranny; and to make the contrast as vivid and as glaring as possible, we may chide and upbraid them for their tardiness in adopting measures which our convenience suggests to them as just and necessary, but which we, ourselves, support only as far as our pride and our avarice dictates!

But when shall these things be generally viewed in their true light?—When shall we let a virtuous principle supplant a sordid thirst for gold, or a noble regard for justice and honour take the place of our present

drivelling ideas of effeminate grandeur and petty supremacy?—

Legislators of North America! behold the suffering condition of the descendants of Africans, within the bounds of this commonwealth! Observe the degraded condition of hundreds of thousands of human beings, for whom, among others, you are called to legislate!—you have it completely in your power to put a final stop to the accursed traffic in negroes carried on in the United States. It remains, therefore, for you to say whether the present state of things shall continue much longer or not. Shall our treatment of a part of the people of this country always be such as to keep them in a continual state of enmity?—Shall the same relentless persecuting spirit which prompted the Roman exclamation of "*Delenda est Carthago*," still pursue the unfortunate African, and his descendants in every part of the world? And shall it, indeed, be said that the republic of the United States has made no improvement on the barbarous code of the Romans, as relates to personal servitude? Better things, indeed are to be hoped for. Knowledge is progressing with unparalleled and hasty strides. The light of Christian benevolence is spreading abroad in the world. The political day-star shines brighter and brighter in the western hemisphere. The lawgivers of the "new world," sit not in darkness; they are not shrouded with the veil of superstition from the public eye; but their deeds are open to the view of an inquisitive people, who take a deep and lively interest in what is doing. Something will, therefore, be looked for worthy of "the age we live in;" and it were sincerely to be hoped that a consideration of these things might engage the early attention of the representatives in our national Legislature, & all other statesmen who value their individual fame; the weal of their constituents, or the perpetuity of our republican institutions.

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

The "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," held its biennial meeting at Philadelphia, in the 10th month last; but as the Journal of its proceedings has not yet come to hand, I have it not in my power, at present, to give a statement of the business transacted. It is confidently expected, that it will be received in time for insertion in the next Number of this work.

In the mean time, the attention of the

reader is invited to the following memorial, to Congress, adopted at an adjourned meeting, held sometime since, in New-York.—How it happened I know not, but the proceedings of that meeting never reached me, until lately.

A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery, which was also recommended at the meeting last mentioned, will be found in the subsequent pages. Of this plan I shall take the liberty to say something more hereafter.

MEMORIAL

To the honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,

The Memorial of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery & improving the condition of the African race, Respectfully sheweth,

That, in the pursuit of the object of their association, your memorialists feel it their duty, to call your attention to the territory over which Congress holds exclusive legislation. The patriot, the philosopher, and the statesman, look to this spot, where the legislative authority of the Republic has an uncontrolled operation, for that perfect system of laws, which shall at once develop the wisdom of the government, and display the justice and benevolence of its policy.

Is it not an incongruous exhibition to ourselves, as well as to foreigners who may visit the seat of the government of the nation, whose distinguished characteristic is its devotion to freedom, whose constitution proclaims that all men are born equally free, to behold, on the one hand, the representatives of the people asserting, with impassioned eloquence, the unalienable rights of man; and, on the other, to see our fellow men, children of the same Almighty Father, heirs like ourselves of immortality, doomed, for a difference of complexion, themselves and their posterity, to hopeless bondage?

Deeply impressed with this sentiment, your memorialists do earnestly, but respectfully, request your honourable body, to take into your serious consideration, the situation of Slavery in the District of Columbia; to devise a plan for its gradual, but certain abolition, within the limits of your exclusive legislation; and to provide that all children born of slaves, after a determinate period, shall be free.

Signed on behalf, and by order of the American Convention, assembled at New-York, November 28th, 1821.

MISSION TO HAYTI.

It is expected that the Vice President of the American Convention, for the Abolition of Slavery &c. will shortly visit the republic of Hayti, for the purpose of ascertaining the moral state and condition of the people; their susceptibility of improvement, and the propriety of sending a portion of our coloured population thither. Perhaps there is not a person to be found in this country, better qualified for the undertaking than him; and we may hope ere long to derive much interesting information, through him, upon the subject.

I have long been of the opinion, that it should be a prime object with us to enter into an arrangement with the authorities there, to send over as many blacks as possible, especially such slaves as would be emancipated on condition they should agree to go. The contiguity of that island to our own coast, would render their transportation safe and practicable; and the congeniality of climate to the constitution of the negro, especially if an inhabitant of a southern State, makes it still more a desideratum with the friends of humanity.

MARYLAND PROSPECTS.

An excellent article from a Maryland paper, over the signature of "A Frederick County Freeholder," will be found in this Number; and another, from the same pen, will be inserted in the next. The remarks of the writer are well worthy the attention of every slaveholder in America. Were they, in fact, written on marble tablets, they would be "worth their weight in gold."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation
TO THE EDITOR.

If the following dialogue should be thought to cast any light on the subject discussed by the parties, I should be pleased with its appearance in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.
ADVOCATUS LIBERTAS.

MONARCHUS AND REPUBLICUS.

A DIALOGUE.

Monarchus. Good morning, neighbour Republicus—I am happy in finding you a home once more in your life time: I have been wishing for an opportunity to converse with you on a subject of great importance but you are so constantly out at convention and manumission meetings, that it is difficult getting to see you.

Republicus. If what you say is correct you might have got to see me without much difficulty, had you attended the convention

and manumission meetings you speak of, some of which were even within a short distance of your door.

Mon. I feel no disposition to go near them, or to shew them any countenance, believing the views of the members to be visionary, and the whole body of the manumissionists a set of downright enthusiasts.

Rep. As you entertain so unfavourable an opinion of our characters and views, you certainly do well to keep out of bad company, lest you might take the infection; for I do assure you that the disorder, as you esteem it, spreads fast, and is becoming more and more contagious. But what is the subject on which you wish to converse?

Mon. It is the subject of African slavery, and African emancipation. It is reported that you manumissionists have collected yourselves into societies for the purpose of getting a law made to take the people's slaves all from them, that you may set them free, whether the owners are willing or not; and so turn them loose amongst us like as many wild asses' colts, to commit every depredation that an ignorant and depraved set of untutored savages might invent.—What but the most wild fanaticism could have inspired a body of men with such idle dreams, as to suppose that our worthy citizens would quietly give up to be deprived of their legal property, because some men believe it not right for them to keep it?

Rep. That such a report is in circulation, I have no doubt; the enemies of emancipation will, as might be expected, try their skill at misrepresenting the humane object we have in view, and others will, no doubt, report on the credit of the first defamers. This is no new thing in the world; it has been the fate of every philanthropic enterprise which has existed on earth to be clothed by its enemies in the garments of a bug bear.

Mon. If your object is not what it has been represented to be, I should like to be informed what it is, in reality, for I do not wish to build on a false foundation.

Rep. I shall gladly give you as correct an account of our humane design as I possibly can; for we wish all our principles to be fairly understood.

In the first place, we believe that unconditional servitude, or slavery, is contrary to the dictates of nature, the principles of Christianity, the maxims of republicanism, and to sound national policy.

Secondly, we believe that justice would demand, if expediency did not forbid, a sudden and total emancipation of all the

African slaves in America; but under these existing considerations, we wish not for a sudden and total emancipation; what we recommend, is a *gradual emancipation*; such as would comport with the interest of all the parties concerned; for the slaves to be first prepared, by a moderate literary education, and also by moral instruction, to become useful members of civil society.

Thirdly, the petitions which are under our care, are expressive of our sentiments, on this subject.—In the first instance, the petitions pray for the enactment of a law, allowing all who hold slaves to emancipate such of them as might be considered by the courts capable of supporting themselves, without the emancipator being bound to prevent their becoming a county charge.—In the second, they pray that it may be also enacted that all the children born of slaves, within the state, after the passage of said law, be free at a suitable age; and that those who raise them be bound to furnish them, as far as may be practicable, with the necessary qualifications for enjoying the equal rights of man. And lastly, they pray for a law to prohibit, in some way, the violent separation of husbands and wives—it being a flagrant violation of the command of Christ—"Those whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder;" as also, an outrage committed against humanity.

The manumissionists, &c. endeavour, by publishing tracts, and other periodical works, on the subject, to call the public attention to the unnatural, anti christian, and pagan practice of involuntary slavery in our country, that the citizens, after being enlightened, may adopt measures to abolish this great national evil, and stain on its character, in some way that will be to the mutual advantage both of the emancipator and the emancipated.

Mon. This statement of your designs differs materially from that which has been reported by others, and tho it is much more favourable on your side than theirs, yet I have several objections to the accomplishment of your object.

Rep. Investigation is necessary in all subjects of importance, and if it can be made to appear that your objections are well grounded, and that we are chimerical in our views, we shall not hesitate to remove them, and adopt something more rational—please state your objections.

Mon. In the first place, it would not do for some of them to be free while others are held as slaves; this would excite great uneasiness among the enslaved part, and cause many murmurs and complaints, which would

be a source of much anxiety and vexation to their masters and mistresses, and might provoke them to use more rigorous measures with their slaves than they otherwise would have done. And not only so, but it would create more moral distinctions among the citizens than already exist; for it would naturally follow, that those who had emancipated their slaves would be more highly esteemed, and would be accounted more just, and righteous by such as were in favour of freedom, than those who should refuse to liberate theirs, and of course they would be reputed tyrants, and as destitute of religion, tho they should profess it in ever so high a degree.

Rep. As these objections seem to be two of the main pillars in the perpetuation of slavery in our country, tho generally kept behind the curtain, it may not be amiss to pay them a separate, tho respectful attention.—Matters have come to this, have they; that in our free republican government, where the rights of conscience are inviolable, that the conscientious and humane must be compelled by law to violate the dictates of conscience, by keeping their fellow men in bondage, lest those who are in the spirit of living on the spoils of oppression and violence should have their guilt harrowed up by the complaints of the victims of their avarice and injustice, and thereby be provoked to take vengeance on them for asking the boon which God and nature gave them! And secondly, to cap the gorgon image, those who are conscientious, and wish to make some reparation for past injuries, must continue to oppress their brethren, lest hardened tyrants and unfeeling monsters should lose their reputation for being tender hearted, holy and humble christians!

These are home strokes, & amount to something like stretching and twisting the moral virtues, and even religion, to fit the taste and practices of the most vicious part of mankind, that every body may boast of having religion, and dream of future happiness. I fear that there has been too much of that accommodating spirit in operation—If it had not been the case, I presume that a *Slave holder* would never have found the way into the pale of the christian church, much less would he have been admitted into the sacred rostrum, as a public teacher.

Mon. I did not think of these things before; but you must acknowledge that if some of them were liberated, that those who were still continued in bondage would be aroused to great uneasiness by seeing others of their colour in better circumstances

than themselves.

Rep. I cannot say that they would:—the uneasiness is already there. The desire of freedom is an inherent principle in human nature; it is coeval with the being of man, is implanted in him by his creator, and is an attribute of his immortal mind; it is his unalienable right, and which he can never forfeit, but by violating the laws of the Almighty: and hence it is that the most ignorant rational being on earth, when deprived of his freedom, feels the injustice done him; and if he does not complain, it is because he is afraid that punishment will be added to robbery.

Mon. These things may be so; but, at any rate, it would never do to set them free and suffer them to remain amongst us. I could never consent to their freedom on any other condition than that of their being sent, immediately, to their own country.

Rep. As it respects their own country there could not be much sending away in the case; unless, indeed, it were sending the wife to the husband, the husband to the wife or the children to the parents, who have been separated by the savage hand of cruelty; for the greater part of them have been born and raised in this country, without any fault of theirs; and, therefore, it is *their country*, as truly as it is ours. But this act of bringing the negroes, by violence, to our country to enslave and degrade them, and then if they are to be delivered, at all from their thralldom, must be forced away to the land of their forefathers to shift as they can, puts me in mind of Ammon, the son of David, king of Israel, who, after he had hypocritically called for his sister, Tamar, to come from her father's house, to wait upon him, forcibly violated her chastity, and then drove her from his presence, to retrieve her character the best way she could!

Mon. But if they were to remain amongst us, there would be so many rapes and robberies committed by them, that the white citizens would be in continual danger.

Rep. I should suppose that the law which are in force to suppress robberies by white men, would also be in force against the blacks: and as to rapes being committed by them, I should think there would be no more danger of that in a state of freedom than if they were still in bondage—perhaps not so much. I hear of little or no complaint of that in the free states; but rape would, no doubt, be committed by white men, on the black females, if they could not get their ends answered without, as it is thought by many is the case now, while the

are in slavery. The white woman may complain, and have the black culprit burnt to death at the stake; but so equitable and impartial are our laws, that the violated black woman durst not complain, or even relate the fact, under the penalty of severe punishment.

Mon. As it is growing late, if you please, we will adjourn till to-morrow; and by that time we may be prepared to return fresh to the discussion.

Rep. You can use your pleasure.—I will cheerfully consent to a fair and full investigation.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation. **PRODUCE OF SLAVE LABOUR.**

During my silent meditations, the theme of slavery, as it now exists in our country, as frequently arrested my attention, with full conviction of the evil thereof, in its many branches, believing it may not inaptly be compared to a noxious tree, that has taken deep root, and spread wide its boughs in this otherwise flourishing republic, and which, if not removed, will eventually end in glory. We can no longer boast of pre-eminence. Those whom we have esteemed inferior to ourselves, as relates to the advancement of republicanism and humanity, in other nations, have unriveted the manacles of their slaves; bestowed upon them that *freedom which is due to every man*, while we, notwithstanding all our pretensions to justice and religion, are, many of us, seeking by all possible means which God and nature hath not withheld from us, to bind their fetters on.—On whom?—our fellow creatures, who are alike the objects of our Creator's regard, as ourselves, and to whom freedom is as dear as unto us; and depriving them of which, we have no fear of excuse, more than sordid interest, lest we make ourselves wiser than Providence, and declare they are not capable of enjoying civil or religious liberty, which we see in their own nation, *he has bestowed upon them*. And can we, for one moment, suppose he would bestow upon his creatures that which he withheld a capavility from them for enjoying? Nay, verily, liberty is their unalienable right, and we cannot deprive them of it, while they are free from crime, but by infringing upon the laws of Providence, & bringing guilt upon our consciences, without saying any thing of the additional cruelty exercised towards them every way.

In this iniquitous practice we have all stained our hands, more or less, in proportion to our consumption of the produce of their labour; therefore, none of us have room to plead indifference in the case; but all should unite, heart and hand, to rid our country of the evil, lest it be done away in a manner terrible to us; for the Lord, the God of all flesh, has declared himself *a refuge for the oppressed*; and that as we mete unto others, it shall be meted to us again; for, "vengeance is mine—I will repay it, saith the Lord."

What serious enquirer after truth can ponder these things, and not feel a gleam of pity for the unhappy victims of avarice, or let fall a tear to wash the blush from off his cheek, when the thought arises, that the professed followers of *Him* who came into the world to save that which was lost, to bind up the broken hearted, proclaim liberty to the captives, the opening of the prisons to them that are bound, to preach the glad tidings of the Gospel to the poor, and who himself then, as now, was despised by the professors of religion, because of his simplicity and humility; I say, is it a time for us to fold our hands, and sit at ease, waiting for some miraculous manifestation of the interposition of Heaven, to loose their fetters, while we have it in our power to "proclaim liberty to the captives," and "let the oppressed go free?" Should we persist in such a course, it may be by *terrible things in righteousness, he may answer us in this matter*.

Were we actuated by that love which is the fulfilment of the whole law, and without which all our most specious pretences are but as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal; that love which only can qualify us, to esteem our neighbours as ourselves; that reaches over sea and land, yea, is stronger than death itself; had we received this badge of discipleship; I cannot tell how we could stand idle spectators of the cruelty exercised upon so great a portion of our brethren; I mean that branch of the great human family who are in a worse condition by far, than Israel in Egypt, and which ultimately ended, not only in the destruction of their oppressors, but the ruin of their country also.

I appeal to the feelings of all serious minds, whether, if those persons whom we now behold in this distressed condition, were our near and dear friends or relatives, according to the flesh, whether we could feel *disinterested on their behalf*? Oh! should we not go mourning all the day and

Piat Justitia Huat Caelum.

repose at night in the bitterness of grief; should we not gird sackcloth on our loins, & with ashes upon our heads, implore the avenging hand of Heaven to interpose? And again, were we told, or should we have occasional demonstration of the fact, that those very persons who had riveted their shackles on, were protesting unto the world that they were the *servants of Jesus Christ*, what circumstance could be a stronger incentive to dispise the religion of a *Saviour*? But how would our indignation be increased in adding to this their zeal manifested in sending their missionaries unto us, under a specious pretence of a concern for our salvation, while, (O shocking the reflection!) our dearest friends and relatives, were not only neglected among themselves, but grievously, yea, barbarously oppressed! How just is this simile—How appropriate to our condition!—Are not we those persons spoken of by the Apostle, “through whom the name of Christ is daily blasphemed among the *Gentiles*?”—And shall we (like Pilate of old after he had delivered up Christ to be crucified) wash our hands and say *I am clear of this matter*?—Nay, but rather consider ourselves, (as indeed we are) the sole instigators of the infamous traffic in slaves.—For notwithstanding it may be considered a bold assertion, it is nevertheless true, that wars are fomented in Africa, ships employed on the seas in transporting of the unfortunate beings, their fetters riveted, and the whip put into the hand of their oppressors by US, the consumers of the produce of their labor, and I can but justify the sentiment of an esteemed writer on this point.

“They who remotely robbers’ goods obtain,
Are linked to them by an unbroken chain.”

We may say much against the system of slavery, yet as long as we are in the habitual use of the produce of slave labour, we pay them for their cruelty.

I will now close my remarks for the present, with a desire that this matter may be fairly considered and carefully discussed, I may be thought uncharitable, by some, yet if I say any thing on the subject I must speak my sentiment boldly, without fear or ostentation.

MARTIN.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO SLAVEHOLDERS.

Gentlemen—As, by your wisdom and discernment, you have discovered that the *soul* is in the *skin* (else why differ about color) will you be so good as to inform us what is to become of those that have HALF

SOULS! Is there a separate apartment in heaven, for these? Or is there a place between Death and Heaven, where they can come to maturity or perfection?

QUERIST.

From Niles' Weekly Register.
CHRISTIAN SLAVERY.

The following extract from a letter, dated Cambridge, Mass. Dec. 9, is published in the New York papers—“Official returns, from the Turkish custom house, at Scio, report *forty-one thousand women and children* to have been sold as slaves; and to have paid auction duties, at that office, in the months of May and June, 1822. The fathers, brothers and husbands of these women and children, met with a more enviable fate, and were *butchered*!”

[This will make a great noise in our country—and it is right that it should, in order that our torpid feelings may be aroused at the idea of *human slavery*. This is the beginning, as it were, of a dreadful retribution which awaits the “Christian” world, for its horrible crimes committed against the partially depopulated continent of Africa—“*An avenging God sees all!*”—G. U. Enan.]

A PLAN

FOR THE GENERAL EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments were instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

These self-evident truths, thus solemnly promulgated, and always admitted in theory; at least in relation to ourselves; are well known to be partially denied or disregarded, in most sections of the Union, in relation to the descendants of the African race. That a nation professing the principles of equal rights, and loudly proclaiming the justice of its laws, should contain a population, amounting to nearly one-seventh of the whole, who know little of the operation of those laws, except as instruments of oppression, is one of those political phenomena, which prove how little the patriot's boast, or the orator's declamation is guided by the light of truth.

It must be admitted that it would neither be politic nor safe, for the present system of slavery in the United States to be long con-

tinued, without providing some wise and certain means of eventual emancipation.

Slavery with its present degrading characteristics, is a state of actual hostility between master and slave, in which "a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; and this may become probable by supernatural interference!" The Almighty has no attribute which can take part with us in such a contest."—*Jefferson.*

It is a truth generally acknowledged, that Slavery is an evil, not only by those whom principle, or education have taught to proscribe the practice, but by men of reflection, even in the very vortex of slavery. To condemn then, what few, if any, will presume to defend, is rendered unnecessary; and the ingenuity of the philanthropist would be more judiciously exercised in devising a practicable remedy for this deep-rooted disease, than in heaping reproaches upon those, who, by the conduct of their ancestors, are placed in the condition of masters of slaves. Few of those who from their childhood, have been placed in situations far removed from the scenes which slavery exhibits, can fully appreciate the difficulties, the vexations, and the anxieties, incident to the life of a slaveholder. To devise a plan, then, by which the condition, both of the master and slave may be meliorated, is a desideratum in the policy of this country:—A plan which will promote the immediate interest of the master, in the same ratio, that the slave is made to rise in the scale of moral and intellectual improvement; and which will eventuate in the ultimate enfranchisement of the long injured and degraded descendants of Africa. The evils of slavery being generally acknowledged, and its impolicy fully evinced, the important question which remains to be solved, will naturally present itself: What are the means by which this evil is to be removed, consistently with the safety of the master, and the happiness of the slave? Perhaps to some, this question, considered on the ground of absolute justice, may appear of easy solution: *Immediate, universal emancipation.*

But however pleasing the prospect may be to the philanthropist, of getting clear of one of the evils of slavery, yet a full examination of local circumstances, must convince us that this would be, to cut, rather than untie the Gordian knot.

Reformation on a large scale, is commonly slow. Habits long established, are not easily and suddenly changed. But were it possible to induce the inhabitants of the

slave holding states, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and to let loose at once the whole tide of black population, it may reasonably be questioned whether such a measure would not produce as much evil as it would cure. Besides, such a measure, if it were practicable, would fall short of simple justice. We owe to that injured race, an immense debt, which the liberation of their bodies alone would not liquidate. It has been the policy of the slaveholder to keep the man whom he has doomed to interminable servitude, in the lowest state of mental degradation: to withhold from him as much as possible the means of improving the talents which nature has given him—in short, to reduce him as near to the condition of a machine as a rational being could be. Every inducement—every excitement, to the exertion and developement of native talent and genius, is wanting in the slave.—Hence to throw such a being, thus degraded, thus brutalized, upon society, and then expect him to exercise those rights, which are the birthright of every son and daughter of Adam, with advantage to himself, or to the community upon which he is thrown, is to suppose that the laws established for the government of universal nature, should in this case be changed. As well might we expect a man to be born in the full maturity of his mental faculties, or an infant to run before it had learned the use of its limbs.

A plan, then, for universal emancipation, to be practicable, must be gradual. The slave must be made to pass through a state of pupillage and minority, to fit him for the enjoyment and exercise of rational liberty.

"If then the extremes of emancipation and perpetual unlimited slavery be dangerous," and impolitic, "the safe and advisable measure must be between them." And this brings us again the question, How can we get clear of the evils of slavery, with safety to the master, and advantage to the slave? For the solution of this difficult problem, the following outlines of a plan for a gradual, but *general* and *universal* emancipation is proposed. Let the slaves be attached to the soil,—give them an interest in the land they cultivate. Place them in the same situation in relation to their masters, as the peasantry of Russia, in relation to their landlords. Let wise and salutary laws be enacted, in the several slave holding states, for their general government. These laws should provide for the means of extending to the children of every slave, the benefits of school learning. The practice of arbitrary punishment for

the most trivial offences, should be abolished.

An important step towards the accomplishment of this plan, would be, to prohibit by law the migration, or transportation of slaves from one state to another:—and also to provide, that no slave should be sold, out of the county, or town in which his master resides, without his own consent. Provision should then be made for the introduction of a system of general instruction on each farm or plantation; each slave who has a family should be furnished with a hut, and a portion of land to cultivate for his own use; for which he should pay to the landlord an annual rent. For each day he was employed by the master or landlord, he should be allowed a stipulated price: out of the proceeds of his stipulated wages, those things necessary for his comfortable maintenance, should be deducted; if furnished by the master.

The time given him to cultivate his allotment of ground, should be deducted from his annual hire. A wise and equitable system of laws, adapted to the condition of blacks, should be established for their government. Then a character would be formed; acts of diligence and fidelity would meet their appropriate reward, and negligence and crime would be followed by their merited chastisement. The execution of this plan, in its fullest extent, would be followed by increased profits to the landholder.

It would be productive of incalculable advantage to the slave, both in his civil, and moral condition:—and thus the interest of the master, and the melioration of the condition of the slave, would be gradually and reciprocally advanced in the progress of this experiment. Although legislative provisions would greatly facilitate the adoption of this plan, it is not necessary for individuals to wait the movement of government. Any one may introduce it on his own plantation, and reap many of its most important advantages.

The plan now proposed is not new. It is not a Utopian and visionary theory, unsupported by experience. It has been successfully tried in the Island of Barbadoes, by the late Joshua Steele; and the result exceeded his most sanguine expectations. "The first principles of his plan," says Dr. Dickson, "are the plain ones, of treating the slaves as human creatures: moving them to action by the hope of reward, as well as the fear of punishment: giving them out of their own labours, wages and land, sufficient to

afford them the plainest necessities:—and protecting them against the capricious violence, too often of ignorant, unthinking, or unprincipled, and perhaps drunken men and boys, invested with arbitrary powers, as their managers, and "drivers." His plan is founded in nature, and has nothing in it of rash innovation. It does not hurry forward a new order of things;—it recommends no fine projects, or ticklish experiments; but, by a few safe and easy steps, and a few simple applications of English law, opens the way for the gradual introduction of a better system." "To advance above three hundred debased field Negroes, who had never before moved without the whip, to a state nearly resembling that of contented, honest and industrious servants; and, after paying them for their labour, to tripple, in a few years, the annual net clearance of his estates—these were great achievements, for an aged man, in an untried field of improvement, preoccupied by inveterate vulgar prejudices. He has indeed accomplished all that was really doubtful or difficult in the undertaking; and perhaps all that is at present desirable, either to owner or slave. For he has ascertained as a fact, what was before only known to the learned as a theory, and to practical men as a paradox;—that the paying of slaves for their labour, does actually produce a very great profit to their owners."

FROM THE (MD.) POLITICAL EXAMINER.
To the People of Frederick County.

The Frederick County Colonization Society having lately held a meeting, and the managers being about to apply to our fellow citizens generally for assistance, I will endeavor to second their efforts by presenting some views of the importance of their object, peculiarly applicable to the present situation of things in our county and state.

Experience and observation ought to make us wiser, both in matters concerning us individually and politically. If a man finds that his mode of farming gives him a bad crop and impoverishes his land, he changes it—and if, in looking among his neighbors, he sees one, who has succeeded no better than himself, he takes care to avoid his system. If another neighbor is more fortunate, fills his barn well every year, and finds his fields continually improving in their appearance and product, then he enquires into and adopts this man's system.

This same common sense way of proceeding is exactly what we ought to pursue in

state and county matters. If the state of Maryland has any thing in her system, which destroys or injures her prosperity, which retards the improvement and lessens the value of her lands, and checks the increase of her population, she ought to consider how she may remove or diminish this evil. If in looking to her neighbouring states she finds one suffering from the same cause, and another, which once suffered from the same cause, prospering in its removal, she will be more anxious to avoid the bad policy of the one, and make the change which has been so beneficial to the other.

Apply these remarks to the state of things in Maryland, in relation to her black population. If it can be shewn that this peculiarity in our system retards the increase of our population, and the improvement and rise in value of our lands, then it is plainly shewn to be an evil, and in proportion as it produces such effects, is the evil great, and the obligation to remove or lessen it obvious and urgent.

To prove that it does produce those effects, I shall resort to experience that cannot deceive us, and to documents that cannot be questioned.

First—It diminishes the increase of our population. The population of Maryland, as appears by the census in 1790, 319,728; and by the census of 1820, 407,350. So that the increase within the thirty years was 87,622. Now compare this increase with that of those states where there is none—but little of this coloured population, and the real and great difference to our disadvantage will be seen at once. Pennsylvania, for instance, in 1790, had a population of 434,373, exceeding ours 114,645, and in 1820, her population is 1,049,459, exceeding ours in 1820 by 642,109. The increase of Maryland in those thirty years was 87,622, while that of Pennsylvania in the same period was 615,086. A reference to the census will show that a fair comparison of the increase of the other slave states with that of the other free states, produces the same result, and makes the conclusion to which we come as to the operation of this cause in affecting our population, a demonstration.

Compare Virginia with Pennsylvania; in 1790 Virginia had 747,610 inhabitants, and Pennsylvania 434,373, so that Virginia exceeded her 313,237. In 1820 Pennsylvania had 1,049,459 and Virginia 1,065,113, making the excess of Virginia dwindle down to 15,654—Perhaps it may be thought

that Pennsylvania has more land to employ her own citizens on, and to invite settlers from other states, than Virginia.—No. Pennsylvania has eleven millions of acres, and Virginia forty millions!

This assertion, respecting the effects of a black population, can however be made good without going out of our own state.

What counties have increased in population in the ten years between the two last census?

Frederick, Washington and Alleghany, where there are but few slaves.

What counties have decreased in the same period? Montgomery, Prince, Georges, Charles, and all the counties on both shores, where there is a large proportion of this population, will be found to have been either stationary, decreasing, or increasing in a much less ratio. The population of Frederick county in 1810 was 34,437, in 1820, 40,459, increasing in those ten years upwards of six thousand. Washington county in the same period, has increased upwards of 5000, and Alleghany about 2000. Frederick had in 1820, about 6000 slaves, Washington about 3000 and Alleghany about 700. In Charles county the black population in 1820 is 9,844, the white 6656, and Charles county, in these same ten years, in which Frederick, Washington and Alleghany have thus increased, has lost 3,745 inhabitants, about one fifth of her population!

Now is there any other cause to which all these various results, tending so clearly to the same conclusion, can with any plausibility be referred? None can be imagined. Nor will the cause to which we attribute them be thought incapable of effecting such consequences, if we properly consider it.

Why does a free state or county retain and increase its population? Because from greater improvement in agriculture, there is a greater demand for labor. Because white labourers of all descriptions, can always find employment; and because they labour among themselves, and labour is not servile and considered degrading.

For exactly the opposite reasons to these, must a slave state or county, necessarily lose its population.

And thus the position I have taken that the existence of a black population in our state diminishes the ratio of its increase, is proved both by the reason of the thing and the clear loud voice of experience.

Now two things should here be noticed. First: That this lessening of inhabitants is a lessening of *white* inhabitants.—The

blacks in Maryland, as in all the slave states, increasing far faster than the whites.

In North Carolina, in the last thirty years they have increased more than as fast again as the whites; and in South Carolina, between 1810 and 1820, they increased more than three times as fast as the whites! Surely this deserves to be well considered.

The second remark I would add is this—We not only lose inhabitants, but the cause operates so injuriously that its tendency is, to drive from us good and wholesome (as they say in New England) inhabitants, while it leaves us all those who are good for nothing.

This appears thus—A young man, intelligent, industrious and enterprising grows up, and finds that he is to labour for his living. Suppose him to have learned a trade or to have been brought up to the best of all trades, that of a farmer. He cannot always get employment where there are many slaves.—And if he can, his fellow labourers cannot be his associates. He will want to labour comfortably and advantageously and where he will be respected, not degraded by his labor. He must move away. Many a man has Maryland thus lost, who had a warm heart to love and a strong hand to defend her. He is gone, and his companions with him, and his descendants after him is lost to the state forever. The same objection to our system would deter citizens of other states and industrious foreigners from settling among us.

And while such men have gone, the worthless and the idle, those who are too lazy, and those who are too proud to labor, have no inducements to call them away, from such a state of society, and too many so remain in it.

This mixture therefore of black population in our state, lessens, in the first place, the number of our inhabitants generally—secondly, that of our white inhabitants—and thirdly, (leaving us all the bad,) lessens our good population.

I shall, in another number, shew the other evil consequences of this system, and then enquire whether it can be cured and how. In the mean time, I would recommend it to all to look to this project of colonizing our free blacks in Africa, to consider what else but this can be done for our relief, and what must be the consequences of our doing nothing.

A Frederick County Freeholder

A TOAST.

The following toast was drank at the late

celebration of Independence, in Greenfield, Massachusetts:

Edwardsville Spectator.

The people of Illinois—Remembering the ordinance of heaven, "that all men are born free and equal," and the ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery, and the solemn compact with the original States, may they regard the attempt to introduce Slavery there, as a violation of faith, as perfidy to heaven, and treachery to the people.

FROM NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER.

ASYLUM.

(Concluded from Page 78.)

Now let us suppose that president Boyer should imitate the example of the pretended sovereign of Hayti, Louis of France, in regard to Spain, or the famous member of the "*peace society of Massachusetts*," in respect to Poland? If Louis had a right to carry war into Spain, *because the people were free*, surely Boyer may attack Cuba, Jamaica and Porto Rico, or either of them, *because the mass of the people are slaves!*—To dispute the right of France, in the case just mentioned, would nearly cost a man his life in *civilized* Europe, so firmly fixed is the idea that right is established by the *reason of the bayonet!*—and so the right becomes manifest! Admit that Boyer, with 20,000 men, which he might readily transport across the narrow sea between him & Jamaica, should land there, and, *as the British did, on our southern coast, during the late war*, call the slaves to insurrection, and protect them in the murder and robbery of their masters! what would be the *legitimate* consequence? Jamaica, some strong holds excepted, would be conquered in two or three days. No present means could possibly prevent it, and the power of Great Britain could not reduce the slaves to servitude again—Neither could Cuba nor Porto Rico resist him. Suppose even that he would only open his ports to pirates, and permit them to deposit their gains in Hayti—who could prevent their success, or punish the aggression? Thousands of bad men, from all nations, would flock round about him, & his power to do mischief would be doubled in a year. What would be the amount that he might add to the catalogue of human miseries, if he should, just as France is doing to Spain—arm the slave against his master, & have his "*armies of the faith?*" But Boyer has restrained the disposition to aggrandize himself or his nation. He captured the Spanish part of the island, it is true, and if ever an invasion was a right one, that was

both necessary and just: but he preserved order, emancipated the few slaves that were in that quarter, but respected the persons and property of their late masters. There were no murders or assassinations, no robbers or plunderers, *no soldiers of the faith*, with a cross in one hand and a dagger in the other, prowling about to destroy—no duke of Angoulême to pay them for killing their neighbours!—no purchasers of human scalps. Restraint, in some cases, may pass only for a negative virtue; but, in regard to Boyer, it is real and positive, and worthy of profound admiration and the highest praise. He is not ignorant of the means; but he prefers peace to war, the ploughshare to the sword, the internal repose of Hayti to her renown in arms. *There is no king in Europe, with the power that he possesses, would use it with the same moderation and justice.* It is impossible that the whites of the West Indies, and others in the neighbourhood of Hayti, should not regret the *location* of that island, and apprehend great changes in its government, for even fugitive slaves from other islands are not harboured there; but as it cannot be driven from its foundations, let us hope that, with its advance in population, power and improvement, the present good disposition of the people & their rulers may be continued. And that they may, the Haytians should be treated with all the respect that is due to their *actual condition*, as a free and independent people: but in the way of their acknowledgement there is a host of difficulties.

It is admitted, and it is certainly true, that our present trade with Hayti is of great importance to us than our trade with France, herself. It employs much more of our tonnage, and is, every way, more beneficial to us. But shall we, by acknowledging the independence of the islands, involve ourselves in a war with France? Can it really benefit Hayti? Will it not surely injure ourselves? The reason of things is against the proposition, and we regret it is inexpedient. But again, are we yet prepared to send and receive ministers to and from Hayti? Could the prejudices of some and the, perhaps, just fears of others, be quieted? We think not. The time has not yet come for a surrender of our feelings about colour, nor is it fitting, at any time, that the public safety should be endangered. Hayti is, and will be, independent—we cannot prevent it, if we would, nor are we so disposed. In looking into the vista of futurity, great events may be anticipated; but

we cannot wish to hurry them on. Our condition is unfortunate; for personal security may forbid the doing of that which is right in itself, because it may be injurious in its operation, tho' innocent in its agent. We are on the horns of a dilemma, and how to get off, at some future period—we leave to that period to determine as well as it can. We will not act for or against the existing fact, because of the extreme delicacy of its nature; but maintain good faith with all, and strictly observe all the rights of persons and things.

The subsequent extracts from an Oration delivered on the "4th of July," 1818, in the city of Baltimore, by John S. Tyson, Esq. cannot fail to interest the reader. It is but too faithful a picture of the *Land Piracy*, in which hundreds of our good liberty-loving republicans are at this moment engaged!—And yet we are Christians, are we, while such outrageous barbarity is tolerated amongst us?

Gen. Univer. Eman.

[EXTRACTS.]

The actors in this traffic are a set of men, who have long since bid adieu to every principle of virtue and honour; who forsaking the respectable employments in which their youth had been engaged, have descended to the disgraceful business of speculating in human liberty. It is some consolation to the people of Maryland to be told, that *most* of these are inhabitants of other states.—They are chiefly adventurers from the south, who having become hardened to scenes of iniquity in their own neighbourhoods, insult the hospitality which cherishes them, by practising their cruelties *here*, in the face of day, before our very doors. But I am sorry to say that these are linked with, and assisted by many individuals, who are styled, and who disgrace the name of citizens of Maryland. Both classes I include under the appellation of southern slave traders. Many of them are collected together in lines, extending from the northern extremities of Delaware and Maryland, to the southern and western extremities of Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky. Thus linked together, they practice their infamous designs.

Every tie of affection, every chord of consanguinity and love, that bind social beings together, are by these ruthless men, burst asunder with ferocious violence. Destitute of sensibility themselves, strangers to those sympathetic feelings which prompt the tears of humanity for the woes of others, they act

as if they believed, that such is the callous condition of the victims of their avarice—mistaken wretches! have they been so long divested of human nature as to have forgotten, that tears, and sighs, and groans, indicate the anguish of the soul; and that when these are extorted from the husband and wife, the parents and children, whom their rapacity has torn from the arms of each other, nature then bears witness, that their heart strings are sundered in twain, and that all that is within them bursts with grief.

These unfortunate creatures are always kept in ignorance of their fate, until the moment when they are called on to submit.— Sometimes they are met by the being who has trafficked in their blood, at a distance from their dwelling, and commanded immediately to march. In vain do they entreat their relentless tyrant to permit them to return and take a last farewell, a last embrace, of those they dearly love. They are sternly refused, and every groan they utter, is punished with a lash. And when they are, through wonderful condescension, permitted to take a final fond adieu, the sacred solemnity of the occasion is inhumanly profaned by sacrilegious interruption.— They tear the infant from the breast of the mother, while she clings to it with maternal fondness—they drag the husband from the wife, while they are bedewing each other's cheeks with mutual tears,—they bear away the sister from the brother, while she hangs distracted on his neck—they sunder the dearest friends, while they are grasping the last farewell.

Who can doubt the anguish attendant on this separation? Impotent indeed would be the attempt. We can behold the external signs of sorrow—we can see the tortured victims writhing with despair—beating their breasts—rolling their eyes to heaven—cursing the day that gave them birth—execrating the merciless authors of their distress—raving like maniacs, and in many instances actually deprived of their reason—but tongue cannot describe, nor imagination paint the bitter anguish, the heart rending agony, that reigns within them, and induces all these mournful indications. Fortunately for us, we cannot, on this subject, speak the language of experience. The hands of un pitying monsters, have never dogged your parents, your wives, your infants, to perpetual and ignominious suffering.

In this country, no man dare touch the head of the vilest white malefactor—the

most perfidious miscreant that ever wielded the dagger of assassination, before his guilt has been solemnly and legally established; before an awful judicial tribunal composed of his fellow citizens; and then, none but the officers of justice can execute the sentence of the law. Yet in this same country, any malignant, furious desperado, may, when it suits his avarice, fetter and incarcerate in dark and impenetrable dungeons, without trial, without hearing, without even the suspicion of guilt, an unfortunate, unfending African? The man who has been guilty of the crime of forgery—the being, who in the darkness of the night, has broken into the house of some peaceable citizen, and robbed him of his property, is punished with a mild and lenient hand. He is not torn forever from his relatives and friends, nor are they kept in ignorance of his fate—his grief is not insulted with stripes and indignities—the duration of his imprisonment is temporary, and not perpetual; and when it is terminated, he can return again to his accustomed enjoyments. But such is not the comparatively happy lot of the oppressed African, although he has committed no offence. His fate is worse than that of the midnight robber; nay, it is worse than that of the murderer—for death is preferable to perpetual torture.— Were I compelled to choose the sad alternative, of beholding the being, whom of all others I most dearly loved, either condemned to drag out the miserable remnant of his life in slavery and chains, far from my sight, and far from all his friends, or of seeing him shrouded in the silent tomb by some sudden stroke of death, most gladly would I prefer the latter; and as his spirit ascended to the Elysian mansions of heaven, most heartily would I rejoice, that an honorable death had snatched him from inglorious life. I am not singular in my preference—appeal to your own breasts, and you will find that what I have said is the language of nature. Many an unfortunate African has, by his conduct, fatally proved that mine is no wild assertion. Many of them preferring death to the calamitous condition in which they were placed, have been the instruments of their own destruction. One example out of many, to the validity of which I can set my seal, will be sufficient:—

A woman 40 years of age, with an infant at her breast, was sold by her master (with whom she had lived all her life, and who resided in one of the neighboring counties of this state) to a southern slave trader. He conveyed her immediately to one of his dom-

geons, not far from Bladensburg, and there inhumanly imprisoned her for the night, intending on the morrow to take her somewhere else. He arose early the next day, and hastened to the dungeon of his captive—Herself and her infant were quietly lying wrapped up in a blanket. Believing her to be asleep, he commanded her to “awake”—the command was not obeyed—he called her vociferously by her name—no answer was made to the call. Then with a horrid imprecation, he advanced to the unfortunate woman—he grasped the blanket which enclosed her—he threw it aside—when he beheld (O horrid sight) *the wretched mother and the tender infant at the breast, weltering in each other's blood!* Despairing of ever again beholding her native country—torn from her tender connections—seeing herself destitute and friendless—in the hands of a remorseless tyrant, who was about to convey her like a brute, to some distant unknown region—she sought relief in death, and with a razor first cut the throat of her infant, then her own!

Though the rules of christian morality forbid us to applaud the suicide, yet her ignorance and her misery plead in her justification, and throw the guilt of her murder upon the heads of her persecutors. Had she, however, existed a Grecian or a Roman matron, in the glorious ages of Greece and Rome, and had she thus sought relief from some Persian or Carthaginian barbarian, historians would have celebrated her name, and poets would have decorated her urn with ever-blooming garlands—for *she was the martyr of patriotism and liberty.* To Lucretia, who, in order to convince the world that she was an innocent woman, plunged a dagger in her breast—to Virginus, who, in order to wrest his daughter from the pangs of a tyrannical decemvir, sheathed his poignard in her guiltless heart, and then held up the bloody weapon to the Roman people, stimulating them to vengeance and to slaughter—to the severe and uncorrupted Cato, who, when he saw the pride, and power, and liberty of Rome centered in Julius Cæsar, fell upon his sword—posterity have, with one accord, awarded the tribute of immortal fame.

But if the being, who has wielded the dagger of destruction, ever deserved applause for his deed of death, certainly the object who now lies bleeding before the eyes of our imagination, merits more exalted fame than even Lucretia, Virginus, or Cato. Shame influenced the first, parental pride the second, chagrin, because the world

bowed down to Cæsar, prompted the suicide of Cato. But no shame, no minor passion, no disappointed ambition, urged the unfortunate African—the grand moving principles of her conduct, were uncorrupted patriotism, determined hatred of tyranny, and genuine love of liberty. She *would not* leave the land of her fathers—she *would* shew her tyrant that she despised his chains—her soul *would* either live on earth free as she had lived, or seek for liberty in the boundless regions of heaven,

“Where no fiends molest, no Christians thirst for blood.”

But what were the feelings of the slave-trader, when he beheld this bloody sight—did contrition melt his soul?—did pity, or even horror, glisten in his eyes?—Ah, no! His soul, dark as the blackest shades of midnight, sees not a gleam of pity within its gloomy recesses—his heart, hard as the mountain adamant, feels not even the “compunctious visitings of nature.” When the relentless man saw the poor woman lying at his feet, he loaded her dead body with the most horrid imprecations and then left her to be buried by the hands of others.

These are scenes which frequently occur—They may appear extraordinary to you, who, immersed in business, study, or pleasure, cannot behold the misery which reigns around you—But there are many, who can vouch for their reality.

But the ferocity of the slave-trader is, if possible, worse than that of the brute creation—The lion does not prey upon the lion—the tiger does not prey upon the tiger, nor the leopard upon the leopard—It is reserved for the slave-trader to prey upon his own species, not like the beasts of the earth, urged by the necessity of nature, but impelled by a disposition which he created himself.

Let us unite our exertions, I beseech you, to overturn the heavy load of woes, which weighs upon the heads of so many of our fellow men. This day you have testified your gratitude to Heaven, for the emancipation of your country from British thralldom. Already have your bristling bayonets glistened to the sun—already have your exciting acclamations rent the air—already has your blazing artillery thundered your joy through the skies—May the spirit which then animated, which now animates your breast, the same spirit I trust, which fired the heroes of seventy-six—The same spirit, which hurled vengeance against the bulwarks of Tripoli—the same spirit, which,

rushing on the wings of deliverance across the Atlantic, told the Algerine tyrant that he must surrender the American captive, or the star spangled banner would wave in triumph o'er the ramparts of his city—Oh! may that spirit prompt you to look with an eye of tender compassion, on the unhappy Africans who now lie groaning in the solitude of a dungeon. Let petition on petition go to the legislature until their condition shall be alleviated by authority of law.

The following extract from a Baltimore paper, shews the violent opposition to the emancipation of slaves in Jamaica.—The same spirit was manifested against the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Jamaica. Meetings have been held in many of the parishes of this island, at which resolutions have been adopted expressive of the detestation of the people at certain proceedings of the "mother country," affecting *slave property*. They say "that no power, however supreme, can take from any man the minutest fraction of his property, without his consent in person, or by his representative." &c. and that they "will resist, to the utmost of their power, measures repugnant to the principles of the constitution, mistaken in their origin, false in their progress, and tyrannical in their execution."

Louisiana. We have heard much of plots and conspiracies at New Orleans, and in its neighborhood. It now appears that the constituted authorities were imposed upon by an old negro, whose object was to effect his personal escape in a storm of his own brewing—which he so well managed as to cause a calling out of the military. *Niles.*

[This "old negro," it is supposed, calculated not only on being emancipated for informing of what had no existence, save in the apprehensions of slave holders, but also to be furnished with money, which would enable him to make his escape. Pretty cunning, indeed!—and almost as good a contrivance as tho' it had originated with one of the "human race."—*G. U. Eman.*]

"FRIENDS OF HUMANITY,"

IN ILLINOIS.

The following is an extract from a Circular issued lately by the "*Friends of Humanity*," a Society in the state of Illinois, of which some notice has heretofore been taken in this work.

In our former circulars, we briefly touched on the enormous crimes, prevailing a-

pace in the land of light and vision—the land of professed liberty and equality; trusting that our state possesses a sufficient number of true, real republicans, lovers of their country, who would forever guard our constitution and soil from being, in the least degree, polluted by the heaven-daring crime of oppression. But to our utter astonishment, we have such men, (not to say reptiles, in our bosom or in the bowels of our state) who have exerted every nerve to introduce the barbarous, God-provoking practice of unmerited slavery into our happy, peaceable, and highly favored state, under the borrowed (not to say stolen) cloak of humanity. Many of them have the assurance to tell us, that they are as much opposed to the spirit and practice of slavery as any one. What a contradiction is this! Let the most distressed character, if he be a person of color, apply for redress! Will they hear his complaints? Are they not deaf to the cries of the most broken in heart? O where is judgment! Is not their backs turned towards it? Is not justice far from them? Is not truth disregarded, and trampled, as it were, under their feet, while equity is barred out from amongst them? What shall we say, or what character shall we attribute to such people? Let the Lord by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah speak concerning such characters. "A people who delighted in transgressing, and lying against the Lord, and departing away from our God. Speaking oppression and revolt. Conceiving and uttering from the heart, words of falsehood; and judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for the truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter."

When we take these things into consideration, should we not be up and a doing; standing continually on our watch tower; particularly those who are called of God to be watchmen, placed, as it were, on the walls, looking out for the enemy? When they see the evil coming, should they not warn the people, and that faithfully? Is not the door threatened to be open for the introduction of an evil into our state, which is the most afflicting that ever was introduced into any state or nation; for it is a source that has brought forth all other abominations, and will bring down ere long, if not prevented by repentance, the most severe judgments, even the devouring sword which is threatened against the disobedient; "If ye refuse, and rebel ye shall be devoured by the sword, for the mouth of the Lord

bath spoken it." Some tell us, that it is a political evil, and does not belong to our mission, therefore, we ought to be silent on the subject. But we would ask; is it not a moral evil? Is it not a transgression of the moral law of God? It must be answered in the affirmative. If so, then we may conclude, that it is not only our privilege, but our indispensable duty to cry against, not only one, but every abomination. The truth is, they dread the preachers, for they are men of considerable influence, at least some of them: and, had they it in their power, they would no more dread them; even, where they would no more be troubled with their reproofs. What would not the spirit of oppression do? What lengths will it not go? But let us be thankful to God for the good laws of the land, and, particularly, for those of our own free state, that secure to all men their just rights; that declare all men to be born equally free.

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Nenth the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
THE HYPOCRITICAL SLAVE-HOLDER.



O Lord! bow down thine ear, a while,
And listen to thy servant's prayer;
A short respite from care and toil
Each Sabbath morning doth prepare.—
And every sabbath day, behold,
Thy servant, on his knees before thee,
Through summer's heat and winter's cold,
Is wont, in public, to adore thee.
O Lord! still grant us health and peace;
And may the fire of true devotion
A holier, mightier, zeal increase,
For Zion's glorious promotion.
And Zion's walls shall then remain,
For every soul who now may hear me,

A sacred rampart; and in vain,
Mine enemies shall venture near me.
O Lord! may Cudjoe, here, delight
In his light task, or daily labour:
God grant, he may not steal to-night
From crib of mine, or of my neighbour.
And if my neighbour aught shall lose.
May Cudjoe never once be caught there.
Thou know'st thy servant would not choose
To pay for what he hath not bought there.
O Lord! may I have strength enough
To hold my slaves, unhurt by any.
Their fare, indeed, is rather rough—
I cannot get their price in money.
And if I could have had my price,
Thy servant freely would have sold them,
To rid him of one monstrous vice,
But as it is, I still must hold them.
O Lord! how glorious are thy ways!—
But Man is vile, from the beginning:
In grief he spends his transient days;
By Satan tempted, ever sinning.
And all, tis said, are sinners here—
(Our actions but too plainly shew it.)
In chains, see that poor negro there—
A horrid sin, Great God! I know it:
O Lord! while thus I freely make
A public, and a full confession,
I hope thou'lt for thy servant's sake,
E'en pardon every wild transgression.
And whilst thou parest, Cudjoe keep
Still ignorant of the inj'ry done him:
Lord grant he may not want the whip
Too often, or too hard, laid on him.
O Lord! permit me now, to ask
Exemption from each rude disaster.
May every slave perform his task,
In strict obedience to his master.—
And if the mastery e'er should change!
Or if to hell thou shall have sent us,
(How dire! how dreadful! and how strange!)
O grant, they may not there torment us!

SIMON MAGUS.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE PIRATES.

O where are the pirates?—you have heard
Of Neptune's sons of plunder.
I have; but they are no longer fear'd—
They've heard our navy's thunder.
But "pirates" we have enough on land,
As vile as on the ocean;
And yet no thunderbolt is at hand,
Nor gallows, for their promotion.
Indeed, of the robbers ever known
On Earth's extensive regions,
The veriest monsters are our own
Slave-drivers' PIRATE LEGIONS!

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 9. VOL. III.

FIRST MONTH, 1824.

WHOLE No. 37.

The attention of the reader is invited to the article in this Number, headed "*London Society for Mitigating and Gradually Abolishing the State of Slavery, throughout the British Dominions.*" It is exceedingly important, as it shews the determination manifested by some very influential persons, in that country, to put a period to the system of individual slavery, in the British empire. That this will be effected *before we abolish it in all the states of this Union*, there can be little doubt, unless we double our diligence in disseminating information among the people, in order to do away prejudice and promote the cause of justice as well as our true interest.—However, let us not despair of the Republic. We have many philanthropists among us, of talents and enterprise; and the present movements in England will create a laudable rivalry, that must, in the end, have a powerful and salutary effect.

Two private letters have been received from a person in South Carolina, who seems desirous of a correspondence with me.—But as he appears to be much better acquainted with the language of Billingsgate than any other, (from the specimen I have seen,) he cannot be gratified. If he will write in a *tolerably decent style, for publication*, or get some one else to do it, a correspondence will cheerfully be entered into.

DANGERS OF EMANCIPATION.

Much has been said about the danger of emancipating slaves that have been long held in that condition, while they are permitted to remain in the country where they have been so held. It is alleged that they would be more likely to produce insurrections, in such cases, than if continued in unconditional bondage. This is a position, however, the correctness of which is positively denied. For the purpose of invalidating it, I shall shortly lay before the readers of this work a mass of testimony, which even the most fastidious will not be able to gainsay. It is true, that where attempts are made by a foreign Power, to emancipate a large body of slaves, in oppo-

sition to the wishes of the holders of them, and without the sanction of the authorities of the land, in such case danger may be apprehended.—But when the Government and their owners consent, they will be perfectly safe in adopting the measure, if judiciously managed. All the noise made by the advocates of slavery on this subject, proceeds from no other cause than a determination to withhold that justice which is due to the blacks, or from their false and mistaken notions of things, as connected with the nature and condition of these people.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

"An quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere vitam Cui licit, ut voluit."

Lo! on that consecrated spot,
Which Freedom calls her own,
Behold the proud one's envied lot,
And hear the bondman's groan!

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED
TO THE
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

The District of Columbia, or more particularly speaking, the ten miles square, over which the Government of the United States exercises an exclusive controul, is the property of the Republic. Altho the laws of Maryland and Virginia are still in force in the respective portions ceded by each of those states, yet Congress claims, and certainly possesses the right to make any regulations that may be deemed advisable, in matters of legislation, within the district.

If these premises are correct, it certainly becomes the members of that body to set an example of consistent patriotism, and to put in practice the great principles of civil liberty, as laid down in the *Declaration of Independence*, that they may furnish the particular states of which the Union is composed, with no excuse, on account of their conduct, for deviating therefrom.

It is a maxim no less true than important, and was held forth as a fundamental doctrine by the founders of this Republic, that "*Freedom is the natural right of all men.*"—To this we have all subscribed, and none pretend to deny the accuracy of the sentiment. How then, can we deny the precious

privilege to any individual of our species, much less withhold it from thousands, when not even a shadow of necessity for so doing can be pleaded in our justification?

But to come directly to the point, I will put the question fairly—*Why is Slavery yet tolerated in the section of country over which the Congress of the United States exercises the exclusive controul?*—Have not the members been solicited often enough to take the matter into consideration, or are they apprehensive that the major part of their constituents are not desirous that it should be extinguished there? It is well known that petition after petition has been presented, having that object in view, while none have appeared in opposition;—and there cannot be the smallest doubt that a large majority of the people of the United States are positively opposed to the anti-republican system, in all its bearings.

I am aware that some will object to the measure on the ground that the greater part of the inhabitants of that particular district would be opposed to it. Whether this is the fact or not I do not pretend to know; * but even if it is so, that circumstance cannot furnish the government with a sufficient reason for cherishing an *acknowledged evil*, or setting a most pernicious example to the citizens of the different states in the Confederacy. The tract of country in question, was procured solely for the use of the nation;

* A paper, now before me, contains the following: "The Grand Jury of the county of Alexandria, D. C. have presented as a grievance, the migration of free people of color, and the introduction of slaves into the county, *contrary to law*, and called upon the constituted authorities to stop the increase of that species of population."—From this I infer, that in a part of the district slavery is not in accordance with the wishes of the people in general; tho an idea is held forth, respecting *free people of color*, that is both curious and outrageous. What right has the "constituted authorities," in any section of the Union, to prohibit the migration of *free men*, who are not charged with crime, or who have given no evidence of disorderly conduct?—If some of the free blacks have acted badly, that circumstance furnishes no criterion to judge of the character of *strangers*, of whom nothing can be known until a trial be made. Prejudice oftentimes renders most glaring absurdities; and through it we generally view truth and justice "as in a glass, darkly," if we do not even lose sight thereof altogether.

and seeing that the system of oppression, existing there, is so diametrically opposite to the genius and spirit of our political institutions—so completely at variance with every principle upon which they are founded, and from whence they derive their support, it is not only a privilege that the members of Congress may exercise at their discretion, but it is their *bounden duty* to eradicate it as speedily as the nature of things will permit.

Degradation begets a vicious propensity in the breast of him who falls beneath its influence; and idleness and crime may ever be expected to follow in its train.—Hence the necessity for exemplary punishments, in many cases, to awe the culprit into the line of his duty;—tho all this might have been obviated if a proper course of management had at first been adopted. Thus in addition to the declension of morals and depravation of political principle, which will always be found to be the natural concomitants of slavery, whatever shape it may assume, the injustice and cruelty connected with it, as relates to its victims, is sufficient, one would suppose, to seal its condemnation in the mind of every virtuous lawgiver in the world.

If we trace the pages of history, we shall find that political power has seldom been stationary for any great length of time. Empires and Commonwealths have risen, as it were, but to fall—and what may we assign as the cause thereof, except it be a neglect, on the part of those who have had the management of their political concerns, to follow the line of rectitude, or to submit to the dictates of wisdom and sound policy? The republics of Greece and Rome had their day, but where are they now?—Where, indeed, have they been for ages?—Like the corrupt and rotten monarchies around them, they were ambitious, and unjust towards others, because they did not put in practice the "golden rule" among themselves.—*Their citizens held slaves*; and, of course, they fostered the principle of tyranny in their bosoms. The spirit which was cradled in the mansions of private individuals, was brought to maturity in the halls of legislation. It prompted them to deeds of usurpation and chivalrous violence. They assumed the right to dictate to their neighbors, and—they were dictated to, in their turn. Those whom they had conquered and disposed of at will, *overran their countries, divided & subdivided their commonwealths, and reduced them to the condition of tributaries*.—And is it not to be feared that we

shall share the same fate, if we act upon the same principle? I have heard it said by some of our slaveholding politicians, that the sages who planned our excellent form of government never aimed at a more perfect system than that upon which those republics were founded. This, however, I do not believe. It would argue a want of patriotism in them, had they stopped there, as that system contained within itself the very means by which the demolition of their political fabrics was effected. What has been, may be again; and it is but reasonable to conclude that "like causes will produce like effects," very nearly, at all times and in all places.—We must be just and consistent, if we expect to be prosperous, or even if we calculate that our free government will be of long duration.

But, to return from this digression—what, let me ask, is the cause of the present forlorn and desert-like appearance of some parts of the District of Columbia?—Why are extensive tracts of land, which have once been under tillage, now thrown out, neglected and unoccupied? It is not my wish to convey a superstitious idea, neither do I suppose that any person can view the matter in that light, when I give it as my deliberate opinion, that *the desolating hand of SLAVERY hath caused it.* Say not that, because Nature has withheld a part of the bounty she had to dispense, the present state of things was unavoidable. Had Industry and good management taken the place of idle pomp; & a spirit of virtuous enterprise supplanted the prevailing fondness for dissipating sports & amusements, matters would have worn a very different aspect. Instead of the bleak, uncultivated, uninhabited desert, we should see elegant farms under the superintendence of wealthy proprietors; we should be elated with the charming view of fields and meadows clothed with the rich garments of nature and art; we should witness the delightful appearance of flocks and herds where now even the wild animals can find nothing to subsist upon—in fine, if the demon of SLAVERY had not have set his foot upon that consecrated spot, from whence the blessings of FREEDOM were to be dispensed over a vast continent, peopled by millions of every name and hue; if the Upas tree of TYRANNY had not taken root there, and poisoned the soil with its noxious effluvia, blasting with its pestiferous exhalations almost every thing within its reach, we should have beheld a thrifty, prosperous, & numerous population spread over the face of the country, and enjoying the

means of happiness, instead of *what we now may see*, on paying it a visit.

Much more might be said upon this important subject, but I shall add but little at this time.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the members of Congress may give it a calm and dispassionate consideration. It is, indeed, a matter of the utmost importance to the nation. I appeal to the members from the free states, and ask them—How can you return to your constituents, unconscious of shame, or guilt, after you have been reveling in voluptuous ease upon the labour of slaves, when at the same time, you yourselves profess to be opposed to the vile practice, and are aware that no such privilege would be allowed you at home? Awake! arouse! I beseech you, from your apathy, and purge the body politic, as far as it may be in your power, of that corrupting principle which is productive of nothing but rottenness, and must if suffered to pass unheeded inevitably hasten its dissolution. Let not the representatives of the crowned heads of Europe, who are continually among you, watching your movements and marking your steps with the utmost vigilance, longer have it in their power to point the finger of scorn, saying—"With all the loud professions of *Liberty and Equality*, which we daily hear from these people, it is evident that they are *linked to us by an unbroken chain*;" for their hands are yet unwashed of the crime of oppression, as well as ours."

A communication from an old and highly valued correspondent, on the subject of the political fanaticism which now prevails in New York, and elsewhere, relative to the Greeks, is received, and shall appear next month. Our own country requires your sympathy, boys. *Pray Look at home!*

NEW WORKS ON SLAVERY.

To the politeness of sundry individuals in Philadelphia and Baltimore, the editor of this paper is indebted for a number of recent publications from England, among which are a pamphlet of 60 large pages, by the celebrated Thomas Clarkson, on the subject of "Improving the condition of the slaves in the British Colonies, with a view to their ultimate emancipation;" and one of a smaller size, by James Cropper, of Liverpool, entitled "Relief for West Indian distress."

It appears, from the tenor of these publications, that the philanthropists of England are taking a bold and determined stand

against the system of Slavery, as it is now practiced in their Colonies; and from the experience they have had in producing the wonderful change in public sentiment, within a few years, in regard to the foreign slave trade, they are very sanguine of success. They now acknowledge, in plain terms, that they have failed to derive the benefits from the existing regulations on that subject, which had been fondly anticipated. They find that nothing but a gradual and total *Abolition of Slavery*, will cure the evils complained of. Happy would it have been for millions of the human race, had they come to this conclusion at the beginning of their labours. All that has hitherto been done, either by the British or United States' Governments, towards sealing this Pandora's box, may be said to be merely a *preparation of the public mind* for the commencement of something that will prove effectual in regard to it. Statesmen have declaimed long and loud against the "SLAVE TRADE"—Legislators have denounced it with all the formula of sober enactment; Warriors have spoken its destruction from the cannon's mouth; Reverend Divines have loaded it with anathemas, and Poets have chaunted requiems o'er it with all the pathos and feeling peculiar to the rhyming race:—Yet, notwithstanding all this, what is the fact—the horrible fact, relative to that traffic which has thus been declared to be illegal, "piratical," "abolished," and destroyed? Hear what follows—

A member of the Congress of the United States * observed, in his place, not one year ago, when the recent transactions of those monsters in human shape, who are yet engaged in that business, were under consideration, that,

"From two African rivers, the Bonny and Calabar, both emptying into the Atlantic, north of the equator; from a very small portion of an extensive coast, to the whole of which the slave trade has been interdicted, by the united voice of all Europe, two hundred and fifty cargoes of human victims have been transported in a single year! Of these, one-third are supposed to have perished in the Middle passage!"

Again, speaking of the way in which matters of this kind are managed in this Republic, to the south of us, he says:—

"The volumes before me abound with unquestionable evidence of the deplorable extent to which those horrible cargoes are

smuggled into our southern states. This evidence consists of numerous letters from the custom-house officers of the United States, the faithful, though ineffectual agents of our laws for the exclusion of this forbidden, impolitic, and guilty commerce. Their testimony is confirmed, in my own knowledge, as it must be in that of an honourable colleague of mine in my eye (gen. Floyd) & by what another honourable member, now a minister abroad (Mr. Middleton, of south Carolina,) declared five years ago to be his belief—that not less than thirteen thousand African negroes were annually smuggled into the southern states. within a few days past, I have been informed, by the highly respectable representative of the most remote of these states, (Mr. Johnston, of Louisiana,) that numerous instances have more recently occurred of the illicit introduction of this population, through Galveztown, and the adjacent shores, into the territory of Louisiana. If the United States, especially the southern states of this union, were exposed to the hazard of having their settled and salutary policy baffled by the cupidity of daring adventurers, before the recent acquisition of Florida, how greatly is that hazard augmented by a sea coast, without inhabitants, of great extent, bordered by numerous islands, indented by many commodious inlets, and immediately opposite to the great slave market of the West Indies. To guard a coast like this, whole squadrons of revenue cutters and armies of custom-house officers would prove ineffectual. An hour or two, or at most a single night, suffices to perfect one of these iniquitous enterprises. The unfortunate captives are landed, conveyed into the interior, and "no mention of them more is made." They are consigned to hereditary slavery; and to the desolation of the country from which they have been torn, is added the curse of that which receives them."

What a picture are we here presented with, 15 years after the passage of our boasted "abolition" laws!—But I have not the patience to dwell upon the subject. I say now, what I have said many times before—*VIZ. THE SLAVE TRADE CAN NEVER BE ABOLISHED, WHILE THE MARKET FOR SLAVES CONTINUES OPEN.* The British are now taking measures to abolish the market for negro slaves in their colonies, (In the parent country they have none) and let us hasten to take the lead of them in so glorious an enterprise.

As soon as I may have room, I shall give as copious extracts from the pamphlets

* Charles F. Mercer.

above mentioned, as my limits will permit—Some very interesting paragraphs, taken from that written by Clarkson, may be found in this Number.

INSURRECTIONS.

From New-Orleans; Richmond, in Virginia; Demerara, in South America, and some of the West-India islands, we have accounts of meditated insurrections among the slaves. In the two places first mentioned, it is supposed that there is but little ground for the reports so industriously circulated: but according to the most authentic information, a scene similar to that exhibited, some time since, at Charleston, in South Carolina, has been recently witnessed in Demerara.

This is a British Colony, on the north-east coast of South America, near the Equator, and was formerly known as a part of Dutch Guyana. It has Brazil on the South, and the republic of Colombia on the West.—According to Bellingbrooke, a shrewd Journalist, its principal town, when it came into the hands of the English, some years since, contained about 1,500 whites; 2,000 free people of colour, & 5,000 negroes. [slaves.] The latter are held in a very degraded condition, (tho not more so, perhaps, than those in some parts of the United States,) and are very numerous in all parts of the colony.—Here, as well as in other places where insurrections have hitherto broken out, the circumstances have generally been attributed to the efforts of those among the whites who were desirous of bringing about an emancipation of the slaves; while in scarcely an instance of that nature, has any such efforts been made!—Indeed we hear of no attempts at insurrection among negroes, except where the slaves are very numerous, and also very badly treated. In such cases, it may be calculated on, until the end of time, unless the nature of the human heart shall undergo a very material change. No change, however, will probably take place in the human breast that can produce a willingness to forego the possession of freedom, in any case, without also creating a conscientious scruple in regard to depriving others of it.—In other words, when men shall refrain from the use of physical force to maintain their rights, in case other means fail, they will be taught to leave others in the unmolested enjoyment of them. Whether this be called *Quaker doctrine*, or not, is a matter of no importance, as the opinion is founded on well known philosophical principles. The only way, therefore, to

preserve tranquillity in a State, is for all to be willing to do justice towards each other. In that case, there would be little apprehension of plotting, turbulence & massacre.—When, indeed, will men be willing to put the “Golden Rule” in practice, and *Do unto others as they would wish that others should do unto them?* Dost thou suppose, O blind and infatuated mortal! that the Saviour of sinners would have commanded what he knew could not be obeyed, or what he did not intend should be obligatory on those to whom it was directed?—“*Search thine own heart,*” and see if thou wouldst not esteem the man who should do thee a kindness, but hate the conduct of the recreant despoiler of thy peace;—and then consider that, *As thou viewest the conduct of others, so they also view thine.*

REPUBLICANISM & SLAVERY.

[CONCLUDED.]

I will now briefly notice the conduct of certain distinguished politicians in the United States, relative to the subject of slavery, and endeavour further to prove that, as a party, the “republicans” have never given the least evidence of an attachment to it; but, on the contrary, that some of the most influential characters, who have ranged themselves in opposition to this great national evil, have been known as decided advocates of the Jeffersonian policy. There are, it is true, as I have said before, a few who have acted very inconsistently.—Yet it would be just as absurd to charge the whole body of republicans with political heresy on that account, as to allege that none of the christian professors in our country are virtuous, because rogues and hypocrites are to be found among them. But it will be an easy matter to shew that other motives than such as are connected with a desire to perpetuate the system of negro slavery, may have actuated these, in most cases, if not upon every occasion.

Previous to the agitation of the “*Missouri Question*,” very little was said or done in this Republic respecting the limitation or abolition of individual slavery, except in particular states or districts; and the measures adopted by the friends of emancipation were too strictly local in their application, to give us an idea of the bearing they had upon the question of party.—Indeed, it is believed that it never was attempted to associate the term “republicanism” with that of “slavery,” until Thomas H. Benton, the able champion of slave drivers, despairing of effecting his

purpose by other means, declared the attempt to check the extension of slavery, in the territory of the United States, to be of "Federal" origin. He well knew there were some who might be gulled by this means; and it was matter of little concern, with him, what charges were made, or what measures were pursued, provided the advocates of the oppressed could thereby be rendered odious in the view of the public.—Some of his coadjutors, in other parts of the Union, joined in the exclamation of "*Federalism!*" whilst the subject of inhibiting slavery in the new States was under discussion, and, for a time, our modern Demetrius was delighted with a cry similar, in effect, to that of "*Great is Diana, of the Ephesians!*"

But when the "Missouri Question" was introduced in the National Legislature, who were the prominent advocates and supporters of the measures it first embraced?—Were they "republicans," or "federalists?" Upon referring to the Congressional Journals, of that period, we shall find that Tallmadge and Taylor, of New-York, Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, and Cook, of Illinois—all staunch republicans, were the most efficient promoters of every important measure, having for its object the limitation of slavery, as then proposed—And although some of the federalists joined in the humane and patriotic work, yet the republican party (if either party can properly claim it) is entitled to the honour arising from that noble and praise-worthy attempt—an attempt which, had it fairly succeeded, would have arrested the monster *Despotism*, in its march thro' this *free country*; and we should ere long have witnessed the symptoms of its approaching dissolution on the soil it has already polluted, instead of the violent assaults it is now making against the temple of Freedom, on the plains of the west.

We may, also, see, on recurring to the period above mentioned, that many of the conductors of republican presses, in different parts of the Union, warmly advocated the limitation of slavery;—and not to mention any others, particularly, that patriotic, independent, and undeviating republican, the editor of the *Baltimore Weekly Register*, took a very decided stand in favour of the measure.

That some of the prominent characters of the republican party, in the free states, were attached to a wavering and vacillating policy, is admitted. We shall never forget the biting sarcasm of John Randolph, in regard to the "DOUGH-FACED GENTRY."

Gen. J. Bloomfield, H. L. Southard & B. Smith, members of Congress from N. Jersey, sided with the advocates of slavery. The first, (peace to his ashes) was in his dotage; the second calculated to be a friend to all; and the third was an office seeker at the city of Washington. The latter gentleman, together with another of the same stamp, were rewarded for their inconsistency with lucrative appointments to office, by the President of the United States! They, doubtless, calculated beforehand that they should be thus rewarded; but whether a positive arrangement had been previously made between the parties, I do not pretend to say. *Beecher and Campbell*, of Ohio, acted in the same inconsistent manner.—The first was, however, a thorough going federalist, and a Virginian by birth. It is supposed they were frightened at the empty declamation of slave holders, or, rather, the pretended consequences of persisting in limiting slavery, as predicted by the violent advocates of the system. John Holmes, member of Congress from Maine, and Mordecai M. Noah, editor of a newspaper called the *National Advocate*, published in the city of New-York, must, also, receive a passing notice. The former was, doubtless, willing to compromise in almost any way, provided he could bear the character of the greatest man in a particular State,—which he hoped to do, in case the district of Maine should take that rank.—And the latter may have embraced the idea that *republicanism*, according to a new fangled mode of reasoning, means *southern influence*;—or, rather, that because there were a greater number of persons, who professed "republican" principles, in the southern, than in the northern part of the Union, it was absolutely necessary to go with them, at all times, thro' thick and thin, in order to preserve his own political weight in the scale of party. The ill success he has met with of late, however, plainly shews that something more rational than his notions of national policy, is called for in the great republican state of New York.

The names of some others might be mentioned, who lent their aid in supporting the principles of unlimited, perpetual slavery, at that time, altho they had been accustomed to an extension of the privilege of Freedom to all, without distinction of colour or caste, in the different sections of country wherein they respectively resided and had received their education; but I trust enough has been said, respecting the conduct of particular individuals, to prove

First Justice. First Virtue.

the correctness of my position. I will, therefore, conclude this article, with a few more general remarks.

I have asserted that the early preponderance of the "republican" scale, in the southern states, was owing to the circumstance of the republican candidate for the Presidency, at that time, being a resident of one of those states—that the influence of *Sectional Pride*, in that case, turned the beam, and was the actual cause of the great dissimilarity, with respect to party operations, in the different quarters of the Union. I have also shewn that, altho a most unpardonable lukewarmness, or indifference has prevailed in the breasts of some of our public agents (of whom better things were to have been expected), in regard to the evils produced by the system of slavery, yet this may be considered as wholly attributable to a desire of securing the favour of distinguished individuals, through whom a passport to offices of dignity or profit could be obtained,—and not to a predilection for the system of negro slavery, as has been asserted. As a further proof of this, it may be also observed, that whenever they possess power, and have the distribution of the loaves and fishes of honour and emolument, are destined to be courted, whether Jews or Pagans, Christians or Mahometans. And when the eye has become familiar with cruel scenes, it is an easy matter to hush the "still small voice" of reason and humanity, inasmuch as to prevent their admonitions from being audibly expressed beyond the precincts of the person's bosom to whom they are addressed.

But to be more explicit, the idea of slaveholders having in their hands the reins of government, has induced many of the advocates of Universal Emancipation to relax in their opposition to the system of slavery, and even to connive at it, in the hope of sharing the offices the honours &c. at the disposal of those who sit at the head of state affairs. The same considerations have also as decisive an influence on the conduct of office seekers, when about to elevate some one to an eminent station, in the government.—The hope of reward ever stimulates to exertion, and, with many, principles are lost sight of, as interest seems likely to be subserved.

One observation more, and I shall have done.

Some persons have expressed their surprise at the great *unanimity* that prevailed among the southern Legislators, at the time of the discussion of the "Missouri Question," alias the extension of slavery, in this

republic. But no one need be at a moment's loss for a clue to unravel the mystery. It may be accounted for precisely upon the same principle which, it has just been shewn, was the cause of a division of sentiment elsewhere.—*Power, Patronage, Political influence, &c. &c.* hermetically sealed the lips of many who, otherwise, would have thundered anathemas against the usurpation of forbidden authority;—and thus, the violators of justice and moral virtue were permitted to proceed in their course, with impunity, tho it was marked with inhumanity and outrage at every step!

"I think," said a student of one of our Colleges, the other day, "I think that Slavery may be justified by quotations from the Bible." He was answered that it may seem to be possible; as it is said even the devil can quote scripture to suit his purpose—and he was offered the use of a portion of this paper, at least 18 months, to prove it—*Dare he try?*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

AGNARCHUS & REPUBLICUS,

A DIALOGUE.

(Continued from page 86, vol. 3.)

SECOND DAY.

Mon. Good morning again, neighbour: you see that I have come, agreeable to my proposal.

Rep. I see that you are here; and suppose you may have brought along some of your heaviest artillery.

Mon. Indeed I collected all I could think of; and you may expect that I have not been idle, for my thoughts upon the subject have been very busy ever since. But to resume the thread of our conversation, where we left it:—If there should be no more rapes and robberies, in case of the negroes being liberated and continued among us, there would be so many intermarriages between them and the whites, that the nation would soon be half blooded.

Rep. Should intermarriages abound, and the nation thereby become half blooded, I should suppose that it would be more honorable and less criminal, than to become a half blooded people by illicit connection; which must inevitably be the case, if slavery should continue for any considerable length of time: for vast, and increasing numbers of illegitimates of colour are already inundating the slave states:—nor could it be a subject of amazement to a reflecting mind, if a complete mixture of blood, in other way, were suffered to take place in Amer-

ica, as a just judgement on the nation, for its violence and injustice towards the African race. But it has been ascertained that mixtures are much more abundant in the slave states than in the free, in the proportion to the number of coloured persons in them.

Mon. I could never consent to their remaining amongst us, even if there should be no greater increase of mixtures than there now are, as their presence in a state of freedom, would be quite intolerable.—They would be so impertinent and saucy, that there could be no supporting under it with patience, so that many of them would get killed for it; and not only so, but they would soon consider themselves upon an equality with white people; and who, do you imagine, could bear that?

Rep. All true American republicans.—Our national bill of rights *positively declares that all men were created equal*; and if there exists any inequality betwixt them and us, it has been occasioned by our injustice, and in sinking them by oppression into their present ignominious state of degradation without any fault of theirs, which gives them greatly the pre-eminence over us.—That many of them (the males, in particular,) should suffer much abuse and insult from the petty tyrants that had been used to domineering over them, I have no doubt; and if to some of such the females should be intolerable in public, as free women, yet an interview with them in private, might very materially alter the case!

Mon. But they are so ignorant & savage-like in their manners, that they are entirely unqualified for a state of freedom.

Rep. And so our horrid injustice and barbarity in reducing these innocent victims of our avarice to their present state of ignorance and mental stupidity, is to be pleaded as an excuse for the “devilish deed” of our still continuing them in bondage—the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel, sure enough!

Mon. If they could not be sent to Africa, it would be better to colonize them as they become free, on some tract of country, in our own territory, than to continue them amongst us.

Rep. In such a case, their territory would have to be surrounded by an impenetrable wall of brass, or marble, to defend them from the voracious kidnapping barbarians of our country, who are so ravenous for human flesh, of the African kind, that a whole colony of liberated blacks would soon

be depopulated by them, and the inhabitants sold into slavery. The chastity of the females would be cruelly violated by those sons of plunder and lechery; and insult, misery, ruin and desolation would be spread through the devoted colony, while a slave market could be found, to which our avaricious soul-pedlars could convey their spoils.

Mon. According to your reasoning, there is but one of two things that can be done with them—they must either remain in slavery, as they are, or be liberated and live amongst us, hail fellows well met, to marry our sons and daughters, which I am sure the people of taste in our country will never consent to: and so your schemes of emancipation will defeat themselves: and I could not wonder if they did, for if the Almighty saw proper to free them, he could bring it about without your forming of societies, and publishing periodical papers and tracts on the subject, thus assuming the divine prerogative, and taking the work into your own hands.

Rep. If they are continued in slavery, they will be as much amongst us as tho they were free: and if they are not now, whilst in slavery, esteemed “hail fellows” in public, by some of the pretended people of taste, yet from the multitudes of half, and quarter blooded illegitimates that abound in the slave states, as I have already observed, they are not only esteemed hail fellows, in private, but it would seem that they are considered the choicest bosom companions!—and I see no cause why our sons and daughters had not as well have children by them in lawful wedlock, as in lawless adultery; unless they intend, by this means, to increase their stock of slaves to replenish their kitchens; or that they may sell their own children, to increase their wealth.

And as to our assuming the prerogative of Deity, and taking his work into our own hands, you might say the same of every benevolent institution on earth; for all the great events which have taken place in reforming the corruptions of mankind, both in a civil and a moral point of view, have been effected by the instrumentality of human agents; & you might as well undertake to persuade the apostles and primitive christians, were they on earth, that they had taken the great work of evangelizing the world out of the hands of the Almighty, as to persuade the philanthropic sons of Freedom to desist from legally exerting themselves to bring about the gradual liberation of their fellow-men that are groaning under oppressive

bondage in our christian professing, republican country.

Mon. But if the Almighty saw that they ought to be free, could he not effect it by judgements, as in the case of the Israelites in Egypt, without the aid of a manumission society?

Rep. We dispute not the power of Omnipotence. He certainly sees that all kinds of wickedness are wrong, and could abolish them in an instant. But in his infinite wisdom, he has seen proper to bring about the reformation of mankind by human agency, and, as I have said, but few of the great events which have taken place in the human family, have been accomplished without it; and yet they were as truly performed by the Almighty, as tho there had been no agency in the case. And as you seem to insinuate that the Israelites were delivered from their state of slavery without human agency, I beg leave to inform you that Moses and Aaron constituted a Manumission Society, and were special agents in that particular and grand event.

Mon. But the Israelites were delivered by God's pouring out the ten plagues, as a heavy judgement upon the Egyptians.

Rep. Moses and Aaron were actors, under God, in the great drama; but so hardened in the crime of oppression were the Egyptian slave holders, that with all the warnings and admonitions given them by those manumissionists, they suffered the floods of divine vengeance to be poured out upon them, even to the ruin of their country and government, before they would loose their hold on the victims of their avarice; and I shall be glad if it does not turn out to be the case in our own country.

Mon. But there is a material difference in the two cases—the Israelites were God's chosen people, and Moses and Aaron were sent by him to do what they did; but you will not say, I presume, that the Africans are a chosen people, or that you are commissioned from on high to be agents in their delivery?

Rep. I suppose them to be as much God's chosen people as any other; as all the families of the earth are included in the redemption through the mediation of Christ—the middle wall or partition betwixt Jews and Gentiles having been broken down since the gospel dispensation has been ushered in, and all are declared to be equally one in Christ Jesus; and I doubt not, that according to their numbers, there are as many of them in Christ Jesus, in the most emphatical sense of the word, as there are

of any other nation. And as to the present manumissionists being sent of God, as was Moses and Aaron, I have this to observe—that every man is commissioned by divine authority to do all the good he can for his fellow travellers to Eternity.

Mon. But your forming societies, and saying so much against slaveholding, excites much uneasiness among our good citizens who are slaveholders, and some of them become highly exasperated. I wonder they do not lay violent hands on you, or, at least, much abuse you with their tongues.—Indeed, I should think it good policy for you to relinquish your plans, if it were only for the peace of society.

Rep. We have hitherto been preserved from the firebrand, exasperated slaveholders' laying violent hands on us—true, here and there a half drunk squire, with a few other depraved creatures, when they get a dram ahead, occasionally salute us with a volley of billingsgate; but slaveholders of character and respectability, knowing our cause to be just, treat us with civility and respect. But as you say that forming ourselves into a society has excited uneasiness in the minds of slaveholders, I can inform you, for your edification, that it is but a natural consequence—Touch a hornet's nest, the warlike inhabitants will soon be in motion. This was the case in Egypt, when the manumissionists requested of Pharaoh the emancipation of the enslaved Israelites. Instead of granting it, he became exasperated, and charged those manumissionists with hindering his slaves from their work—saying “ye are idle, ye are idle” &c. like as some of the hot headed slaveholders of our day, without the least shadow of truth, charge us with about the same thing. The Pharisees and Rabbi's of the Jewish nation were so highly exasperated at the encroachments which Christ and his followers made on their self-assumed prerogatives, they had all of them put to death that they could lay their hands on.—And finally, without enumerating others, no sooner was a manumission society formed by the people of North America, for the purpose of emancipating themselves and their brethren from British oppression, than the king and his courtiers were all in a bustle, and some of them were exasperated even unto madness, and meditated the most desperate revenge. Now would it not have been the best for all of these several associations, in order to preserve the peace of society, to have relinquished their plans?—O what a peaceful world should we have, according

to your doctrine, if tyrants could rule without interruption, and wickedness be carried on without rebuke!

Mon. I would advise you, however, to suppress your publications, as they hurt the feelings of some, and others will not read them; and to such they are of no account—besides, all are not prepared yet for the emancipation of their slaves; but when they are ready, if it is right that they should be free, those who have them will liberate them without the agency of manumissionists.

Rep. Yes, yes—I dare say that will be the case;—and the proud tyrants of Europe will cease from oppressing their subjects, “when they are ready,” without the agency of revolutionists.—Highway robbers and thieves will, also, cease from their depredations, when they are ready, without the agency of the civil officers or a halter.—The vicious and the profligate, generally, will likewise forsake their wickedness, when they are ready, without the help of written precepts and moral lectures to hurt their feelings, and make them uneasy.—They will cease from these evil practices, and the slaveholders from oppressing their sable brethren, when death shall put a period to their lives; and, perhaps, when it will be forever too late to mend.—And as you say some will not read our publications, I suppose there are some among us who come under the character of those that Christ said “loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil, and therefore would not bring their deeds to light, lest they should be reproved.”

Mon. It is time for me to retire:—and to-morrow, if you please, we will resume the argument.

Rep. According to your word; so be it.
(TO BE CONTINUED.)

FROM THE (MD.) POLITICAL EXAMINER.

To the People of Frederick County.

No. II.

Having shewn in my last, the effects of the black population in Maryland in lessening the increase of inhabitants, I now proceed to prove that it retards the improvement and rise in value of our lands.

This is both a consequence and a cause of a diminution of population, and is shewn from the nature of the thing and from experience.

Where there are many Slaves, the land will be held in large tracts, and consequently will be badly cultivated.—It will also be cultivated by men without intelligence

and without any interest in the success of their labors. The laborers, generally speaking will work as little as they can, and only while the eye and hand of authority is over them. How much this will retard agricultural improvement may readily be imagined. But alas! there is no need to imagine it. Every man's eyes are struck with the difference between the appearance and produce of lands in the free and slave states, and even in the counties of our own state. And we all know that lands are far more productive and sell at far higher prices where there are no slaves, than where there are. We know this sufficiently in our own state without referring to documents.

The lands in the different states of the Union have been valued under public authority, by impartial men upon oath. This valuation bears so powerfully upon this question that it cannot be necessary to resort to any thing else. From this it appears, that Virginia's forty millions of acres of land (I throw off in these comparisons the thousands and hundreds) is valued (in 1799) at fifty-nine millions of dollars, while Pennsylvania's eleven millions is valued at seventy-two millions of dollars! Massachusetts' seven millions is valued at fifty-nine millions of dollars, equal to Virginia's 40 millions! And Connecticut's two million to forty millions of dollars. Maryland has five millions of acres valued at twenty-one millions of dollars.

The number of dwelling houses (over \$100 in value) in the different states, has also been officially ascertained—Virginia on her 40,000,000 of acres, has 27,693 dwelling houses and Maryland on her five millions has 16,932; Connecticut on her two millions of acres has built nearly as many as Virginia, 23,585; and Massachusetts on her seven millions has nearly twice as many, 48,984; and Pennsylvania on her eleven millions has 51,772!

It has been stated that the population of Virginia and Pennsylvania are nearly the same, each exceeding by a little a million of inhabitants: Virginia's million have 27,693 houses, (over \$30 in value,) and the same number of Pennsylvanians occupy 51,772 such houses!

Now it is impossible to conceive what these great differences in improvement and value can be attributed to, but to the cause I have stated.

The documents to which I have already referred, (they may be found in Pillain's statistics) contain also an estimate of the increase in value of lands and houses in the

fiat Justitia fiat Cælum.

different states from 1799 to 1814-15, a period of 15 years.

By this it appears that the 40 millions of acres in Virginia, & the houses on it, have increased in value within that time 94 millions of dollars; while Pennsylvania's eleven millions have increased in the same time 244 millions! So that in 1815, the Pennsylvanian finds his land worth upwards of 92 dollars per acre more than it was in 1799, and the Virginian's, in the same time, have only increased about \$2 30!

The average value per acre of all the lands in the different states in 1815, is about ten dollars. In all the Northern states (except two, where peculiar causes operate) the lands are estimated above the average. In all the other states, except Maryland, they are far below the average. In Maryland we all know the difference in the price of lands between the eastern and western counties, and that it is not to be accounted for by the difference in their intrinsic value. Some Pennsylvanians, tempted by the high price of their own lands and the low price of ours, have sold out and purchased in Maryland; and where have they settled? almost without exception in Frederick or Washington county. Some of them also have gone into Virginia, and are to be found only in counties similarly situated.

The removal of this evil would tend to equalize the price of lands in these three states. Lands in Maryland of equal quality with lands in Pennsylvania will no longer sell at less than half the price, and in Virginia at less than a fourth; & we shall be benefited both by the increasing population of Pennsylvania and by the high price of her lands.

The results which I have stated from the different census' and valuations made under the authority of the general government, will appear exhibited together in one view, in the following table—[See the opposite column.]

And now I would desire all men, interested in our state, to consider how serious must be that defect in our system which produces such consequences.

In what does the prosperity of a state more essentially consist, than a rapid increase of sound population, and the increasing value and improvement of its lands? This is a matter too plain to require argument. But it requires and demands the thoughts of every man who loves either his country or himself. It addresses itself to every feeling of the heart, the selfish as well as the patriotic and benevolent.

A Frederick County Freeholder.

Showing the quantity of Land, and the increase in value thereof; also the relative increase in population, and value of houses, between the years 1790 and 1820, in the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

TABLE.

	Acres	Valued at	Number of dwelling houses, above \$100 in value.	Population in 1790.	Population in 1820.	Increase of population, from 1790 to 1820.	Increased value of houses & lands, from 1799 to 1814-15.
Maryland	5,444,972	\$21,634,004	16,932	319,728	407,350	87,622	\$74,118,538
Virginia	40,458,644	59,276,360	27,695	747,610	1,066,115	317,505	94,383,073
Pennsylvania	11,939,865	72,824,852	51,772	434,573	1,049,459	615,086	244,487,989

MEDITATED INSURRECTION.

FROM THE BALTIMORE AMERICAN.

Extract of a letter to the editors, dated RICHMOND, (Va.) Dec. 24. 1820

"By the next mail you may expect hear something of our military operations in this quarter. The military are all ordered out, to rendezvous, some immediate

at the depots of arms in the city—others to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning, to repair to the old barracks of the public guard, on the firing of the alarm guns, to perform which services, when necessary, a detachment of capt. Rutherford's artillery company will occupy the capitol, or a convenient spot, adjacent. What all this means I know not, but presume it is in consequence of some alarm excited by the vast number of—who have been pouring into the city for some days past, and those who are yet expected in to-night.

"P S.—8 o'clock—The alarm is not yet sounded—I have just conversed with an officer of one of the reserve companies; there was a meeting of the officers of the different detachments called very secretly to-day—information was given which induced a belief that the——contemplated a rising and general massacre of the whites. The particulars are not allowed to be developed.—Some of the companies are under arms, and the city as yet tranquil.—I apprehend nothing dangerous myself. I have also learnt that requisitions for arms from the country have been complied with. It is usual for vast numbers of—to be in Richmond during the holidays."

LONDON SOCIETY

For Mitigating and gradually Abolishing the STATE OF SLAVERY throughout the British dominions.

Among the manifold evils to which man is liable, there is not perhaps one more extensively productive of wretchedness than *Personal Slavery*.

Slavery in without exaggeration, be described as inflicting on the unhappy subjects of it almost every injury which law, even in its rudest state, was intended to prevent. Is property an object of solicitude? The slave, generally speaking, can neither acquire, nor securely enjoy it. Is exemption from personal wrong indispensable to comfort? The slave is liable to indignity and insult, to restraint and punishment, at the mere caprice of another. He may be harassed and rendered miserable in a thousand ways, which, so far from admitting of the redress that would be requisite to obtain legal redress (even where any legal redress is sensibly provided) can perhaps with difficulty be distinguished from such exercise of master's power, as admits of no regulation or controul. Even life itself may, with impunity, be wantonly sported with: it may be bridged by insufficient sustenance: it may

be wasted by excessive labour; nay, it may be sacrificed by brutal violence, without any proportionate risk of adequate punishment.

In short, the Slave can have no security for property, comfort, or life; because he himself is not *his own*: he belongs to another, who, with or without the offer of a reason or pretence, can at once separate all from him, and him from all which gives value to existence.

Again: What sense of moral obligation can he be expected to possess who is shackled with respect to every action and purpose, and is scarcely dealt with as an accountable being? Will the man, for example, whose testimony is rejected with scorn, be solicitous to establish a character for veracity? Will those who are treated as cattle, be taught thereby to restrain those natural appetites which they possess in common with their fellow-labourers in the team? Or will women be prepared for the due performance of domestic and maternal duties by being refused the connubial tie, or by being led to regard prostitution to their owner, or his representative, as the most honourable distinction to which they can aspire?

From this source of slavery, then, flows every species of personal suffering and moral degradation, until its wretched victim is sunk almost to the level of the brute, with this farther disadvantage, that not being wholly irrational, he is capable of inspiring greater degrees of terror, resentment, and aversion, and will therefore seem to his owner to require and to justify severer measures of coercion.

And let it not be forgotten, that Slavery is itself not merely the effect, it is also the very cause of the Slave Trade; of that system of fraud and violence by which Slaves are procured. If Slavery were extinct, the Slave Trade must cease. But while it is suffered to exist, that murderous traffic will still find a fatal incentive in the solicitude of the Slaveholder to supply the waste of life which his cupidity and cruelty have occasioned. Thus, in every point of view, is slavery productive of the worst consequences to all the parties concerned. Besides all the direct and wide-wasting injuries which it inflicts on its immediate victims, it substitutes for the otherwise peaceful merchant a blood-thirsty pirate, trading in human flesh; and by ministering to pride, avarice, and sensuality, by exciting the angry passions, and hardening the heart against the feelings of our nature, it tends to convert the owner of Slaves into a merciless tyrant.

The Society, be it remembered, are not

now endeavouring to rouse indignation against particular acts of extraordinary cruelty, or to hold up to merited reprehension individuals notorious for their crimes. They are only exhibiting a just picture of the nature and obvious tendencies of Slavery itself, wheresoever and by whomsoever practised. They are very far from asserting, or supposing, that every one of the enormities to which they have alluded will be found to co-exist in all their horrors in every place where Slaves may be found; but they know that in such places they have existed at one time or other in a greater or less degree; that in many places they are even now in full and fearful force; and that they are liable to be revived in all. Should this picture appear to some persons to be overcharged, they would refer them to the most decisive and unquestionable authorities. The felon Slave-trade, indeed they consign to the laws of England, and to the recorded reprobation of Europe. But for the accuracy of their delineation of the wretchedness and degradation connected with the condition of personal Slavery, (willing as they have been to mitigate the evils of colonial bondage,) they appeal to ancient and to modern history, and to every traveller worthy of credit who has visited the regions where that condition of society prevails. Three thousand years ago, a heathen poet could tell us,

"Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day.

Makes man a Slave takes half his worth away.

—And this might be shewn to be the concurrent testimony of all ages.

The enemies of Negro freedom, in our age and country, were so sensible of this truth, that with great shrewdness they disputed the claim of the Negro race to be regarded as men. They, doubtless, felt with Montesquieu, that if "Negroes were allowed to be men, a doubt might arise whether their masters could be Christians." This position, however, has been abandoned as untenable; and we may therefore indulge a sanguine hope of at length recovering for them the indubitable rights of humanity, so long and so cruelly withheld by the strong arm of oppression. Some persons, however, may here be disposed to ask, how it is possible, if slavery were an evil so enormous as it has now been represented to be, that it should not only have been tolerated, but recognized and established as a legal condition of society, by so many polished, and even Christian nations, up to this very day. The society admit, that to a humane and considerate mind, nothing can seem more

extraordinary, than that this, with other enormities, the removal of which lies obviously within the compass of human ability, should yet continue to torment mankind from age to age. But our past supineness in no degree weakens the obligation we are under to attempt their removal, when their real nature has been detected and exposed. Nor will the plea of prescription and antiquity, or of previous connivance, justify the prolongation of practices, which both religion and natural justice condemn as crimes. The African Slave Trade, with all the abominations accompanying its every stage, had been carried on for centuries, without attracting observation; and, even after it had excited the attention of a few benevolent individuals, it cost many a laborious effort and many a painful disappointment, before a conviction of its inherent turpitude and criminality became general, & its condemnation was sealed in this country. In the exultation produced by this victory, it was perhaps too readily believed that the Colonial Slavery which had been fed by the Slave Trade, would, when all foreign supply was stopped, undergo a gradual, but rapid mitigation, until it had ceased to reproach our free institutions and our Christian profession, and was no longer known but as a foul blot in our past history. It was this hope, joined with a liberal confidence in the enlarged & benevolent purposes of the colonial proprietary, which prevented the immediate prosecution of such further parliamentary measures as should have at once placed the unhappy Slave under the protection of the law, and have prepared the way for his restoration to those sacred and inalienable rights of humanity, of which he had been unjustly dispossessed. But if, as is the fact, every such hope has proved illusory, and all such confidence has only served to render their disappointment more bitter and mortifying, shall the friends of the African race be now reproached for waiting no longer, when the real ground of reproach is, that they should have waited so long? They place themselves then, on the immovable ground of Christian principle, while they invoke the interference of parliament, and of the country at large, to effect the immediate mitigation, with a view to the gradual and final extinction, in all parts of the British Dominions, of a system which is at war with every principle of religion and morality, and outrages every benevolent feeling. And they entertain the fullest conviction that the same spirit of justice and humanity which has already achieved so signal a victory,

will again display itself in all its energy, nor relax its efforts until it shall have consummated its triumphs.

The objects of this Society cannot be more clearly and comprehensively defined than in the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted at its first meeting.

That the individuals composing the present meeting, are deeply impressed with the magnitude and number of the evils attached to the system of Slavery, which prevails in many of the Colonies of Great Britain; a system which appears to them to be opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, as well as repugnant to every dictate of natural humanity and justice.

That they long indulged a hope, that the great measure of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, for which an Act of the Legislature was passed in 1807, after a struggle of twenty years, would have tended rapidly to the mitigation and gradual extinction of negro bondage in the British Colonies; but that in this hope they have been painfully disappointed; and after a lapse of sixteen years, they have still to deplore the almost undiminished prevalence of the very evils which it was one great object of the abolition to destroy.

That under these circumstances they feel themselves called upon by the most binding considerations of their duty as christians, by their best sympathies as men, and by their solicitude to maintain unimpaired the high reputation and the solid prosperity of their country, to exert themselves, in their separate and collective capacities, in furthering this most important object, and endeavouring, by all prudent and lawful means to mitigate, and eventually to abolish the Slavery existing in our Colonial possessions.

That an association be now formed, to be called "The London Society for Mitigating and gradually Abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions;" and that a Subscription be entered into for that purpose.

With respect to the means of carrying these objects into effect, they must, in some measure, depend on circumstances. For such as are more obvious, particularly the obtaining and diffusing of information, considerable funds will be required; and it will therefore be necessary to promote subscriptions not only in the metropolis, but in all parts of the kingdom.

From a Late Paper.

A ship is about sailing from Norfolk, Va. for Liberia, (Africa) with 120 free blacks.

Price of passage for each, \$20; the Colonization Society furnishing necessary provisions.

PARAGRAPHS.

From a late English Pamphlet, written by

THOMAS CLARISON.

The first step to be taken by the Abolitionists is to attempt to introduce an *entire new code of laws* into our colonies. The treatment of the Negroes there must no longer be made to depend upon the *presumed effects* of the abolition of the slave trade. Indeed there were persons well acquainted with Colonial concerns, who called the abolition *but half a measure* at the time when it was first publicly talked of. They were sure that it would never, of itself, answer the end proposed. Mr. Steele also confessed in his letter to Dr. Dickson* (of both of whom more bye and bye) that "the abolition of the slave trade would be *useless*, unless at the same time the *infamous laws*, which he had pointed out, *were repealed*." Neither must the treatment of the Negroes be made to depend upon what may be called *contingent humanity*. We now leave in this country neither the horse, nor the ass, nor oxen, nor sheep, to the contingent humanity even of *British bosoms*;—and shall we leave those, whom we have proved to be *men*, to the contingent humanity of a *slave colony*, where the eye is familiarized with cruel sights, and where we have seen a constant exposure to oppression without the possibility of redress? No. The treatment of the Negroes must be made to depend *upon law*; and unless this be done, we shall look in vain for any real amelioration of their condition.

The second and last step to be taken by the Abolitionists should be to collect all possible light on the subject of *emancipation* with a view of carrying that measure into effect in its due time. They ought never to forget, that *emancipation* was included in their *original idea of the abolition of the slave trade*. Slavery was then as much an evil in their eyes as the trade itself; and as long as the former continues in its present state, the extinction of it ought to be equally an object of their care. All the slaves in our colonies, whether men, women or children, whether *Africans* or *Creoles*, have been *unjustly deprived of their rights*. There is not a master who has the least

* See Dickson's *Mitigation of Slavery*—page 17.

claim to their services in point of equity. There is, therefore, a great debt due to them; and for this no payment, no amends, no equivalent can be found, but a *restoration to their liberty*.

That all have been unjustly deprived of their rights, may be easily shown by examining the different grounds on which they are alleged to be held in bondage. With respect to those in our colonies, who are *Africans*, I never heard of any title to them but by *right of purchase*. But it will be asked, where did the purchasers get them? It will be answered, that they got them from the sellers; and where did the sellers, that is, the original sellers, get them? They got them by *fraud or violence*. So says the evidence before the House of Commons; and so, in fact, said both Houses of Parliament, when they abolished the trade: and this is the plea set up for retaining them in bondage!!!

With respect to the rest of the slaves, that is, the *Creoles*, or those born in the colonies, the services, the perpetual services, of these are claimed on the plea of the *law of birth*. But as the right to slaves, because they were born slaves, cannot be defended either upon the principles of reason or of justice, so this right absolutely falls to pieces, when tried by the *Christian religion*.

REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

The following striking picture of the native savage tribes within the bounds of the new republic, is from a high official source. The plan here proposed, if it is ever carried into effect, must produce a thorough change in the situation of that class of the inhabitants; and Colombia will have the glory of terminating that degradation to which the long continued tyranny of Spain has reduced them.

New-York Daily Advertiser.

Liberty of the Native Indians.—"The greater part of the civilized Indians of Colombia have ever been, & indeed still are, a thoroughly degraded class. They have been reduced by the Spanish law to a perpetual apprenticeship; & it may with truth be said, that they were the slaves of the clergy and Alcaldes. Both the one and the other were in the habit of ordering them to be publicly scourged, whether old or young, and for the most trifling faults. Thus they lived depressed and in subjection; their physical & moral energies utterly lost. Reduced to cultivate their lands in common, they felt no interest in improving them; & with no oth-

er desire than that of vegetating in their villiages, they passed their lives in misery, and were scarcely able to pay their annual tribute, from six to nine dollars, which the law demands from all males between the age of eighteen and fifty.

"The first general Congress, well acquainted with the condition of the Indians and desirous of extending to them the political and civil rights of citizens, sanctioned the laws rendering all Indians equal in privileges with the rest of Colombia; suppressing the tributes and bodily labour, introduced among them through abuses—& providing for a division of the common lands, in perpetuity, within the space of five years."

"Although this law cannot rescue the present generation of Indians from the degradation in which they are sunk, owing to the impracticability of changing habits so confirmed, much may be hoped from that which is to come. The example of the other classes of the state, the association with them, which will naturally arise from marriages; the instruction given to the Indians in the first rudiments of education, where their children are taught to read and write; finally, the abolition of the barbarous practice of flogging them in public, will, I imagine, have a powerful effect in improving them. Over and above the adoption of measures for the advancement of parish schools among the Indians, the executive issued a decree on the 14th of March, last year, directing that four Indian youths should be admitted into each of the colleges of Bogota, Carracas and Quito; and two into each of the others. As it was impossible that they could be instructed in the colleges, without some pecuniary assistance, the government assigned to each of them the sum of ten dollars monthly from the public funds—This measure of the government's, so worthy the approbation of Congress, once realized, will be a powerful incitement to the Indians to educate their children. Those who quit the colleges thus improved, will dedicate themselves to the church or to the service, and soaring above their original class, will inspire new desires among their kindred. Thus by degrees the Indians will become different men, under the empire of liberty, and Republican institutions.

"No laws can have so pointed an influence on the future destinies of Colombia, as those which declare the new offspring of slaves free; and give to the Indians equal rights with other citizens. Within fifty or sixty years at farthest, Colombia will be inhabited entirely by free men. The Indians

will become mixed with the European and African race, from whence will result a third, which has been found by experience to possess fewer imperfections than the Indians; and finally we shall behold casts gradually disappearing from our soil. This perspective is doubtless bright and consolatory; but to realize it, various acts of the legislature are necessary to mature the former laws; and these will be pointed out by the government in their proper place.

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.

The enclosed lines were published some 30 years since, in Scotland. They are a little altered, however, to suit the present times and circumstances, in this country. M.

OPPRESSION.

Ye generous patriotic men,
Of blest Columbia's genial soil,
Join heart and hand, and active pen,
And base oppression make your spoil.

O let compassion gently burn;
Let pure religion be your rule;
The scale of despotism turn,
By wisdom and by reason cool,

Shall we by rank injustice live?—
By rapine, murder, and by blood?
No! rather trust Him that did give
His son for us—the living God.

Say not "we'll lose our means of gain,"
For our great Sov'reign will provide;
Nor of his goodness dare complain,
Who rules immensity so wide.

Lo! what a tragic scene is this,
Which now exhibits to our view!
Old Afric's sons in deep distress,
Held by a proud, pedantic crew!

They force them from their native shores,
From friends that are of nearest tie;
To slavery they are given o'er,
Like brutes to live, like brutes to die!

No gospel privilege they have;
No knowledge of Emanuel's name;
Nor taught their need of him to save:—
To us what a perpetual shame!

That they are men, who can deny?
And born to endless bliss or woe—
And not the Saviour for them die?
Where is the man can answer No?

The rights of men are surely theirs;
And to restore them let us strive;
Then plenty shall reward our cares;
And then, in peace we all may live.

We seldom meet with anything more striking, more sublime, and at the same time more elegant, than the following from the pen of the "Boston Bard." It is not, perhaps, too much to say, it equals the best that Homer ever wrote.

Would that every man could be thus enamoured with the celestial nymph, whose raven locks are still dishevelled, and whose countenance bespeaks the agonizing smart within, tho' surrounded by her professed admirers, and unceasingly implored for the favour of a smile. Indeed, she yet reclines on the "battle storm"—for altho' the roar of dread artillery is still'd, and the glare of murderous steel no longer assaults the optic nerves, the "war of elements" continues—(the angry passions are in commotion—) and so it will ever be, until the "serpent Slavery" shall be unconditionally expelled from its terrene abode.

When Freedom on the battle storm
Her weary head reclined;
When round her fair majestic form
The serpent Slavery twined;
Amid the din, beneath the cloud,
Great Washington appeared;
His daring hand rolled back the shroud
And thus the sufferer cheered—

Burst burst thy chains! Be great, be free!
With giant strength arise!
Stretch, stretch, thy pinions, Liberty.
Thy flag raise to the skies;
Clothe, clothe thyself in Glory's robe,
Let stars thy banner gem:
Rule, rule the sea—possess the globe—
Wear victory's diadem—

Go, tell the world a world is born—
Another orb gives light;
Another sun illumines the morn,
Another star the night—
Be just be brave—and let thy name
Henceforth Columbia be;
Wear, wear the Oaken wreath of fame:
The wreath of Liberty—

He said—and lo! the stars of night
Forth to her banner flew;
And morn with pencil dipt in light,
Her blushes on it drew—
Columbia's Chieftain seized the prize,
The glorious sheet unfurled,
Flew with it to his native skies,
And wav'd it o'er the world!

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 10. Vol. III.

SECOND MONTH, 1824.

WHOLE No. 38.

STATE OF ILLINOIS.

"Honestas quædam scelera successus facit."

And here the demon rears his head—


His fiery car by furies led.

A blasted heath behind, before it,

With *Ruin's* burning mantle o'er it!

A very great agitation yet prevails among the people of Illinois, relative to the "Convention Question;" which seems likely to be productive of as much anxiety, and as great a degree of political rancour, in proportion to the number of persons interested, as the famous "*Missouri Question*" occasioned a few years since. Altho' some of the principal actors on the stage of legislative intrigue, in that State, have denied that their object is the introduction of slavery, it is now pretty generally understood that it is positively their intention to effect this if possible; and it appears that the "*Edwardsville Spectator*" is the only newspaper in the State which openly condemns the wicked and barefaced proposition. The others are all either most culpably neutral, or in favor of the odious proceeding.

At the time the present Constitution of Illinois was adopted, a most violent struggle took place, which was conducted upon the same principle as the present; and it seemed very doubtful, for a time, whether the slave party would not then have succeeded in trampling on the ordinance of Congress, and entailing the curse of slavery on the present and future generations in that delightful country. A powerful party, in favour of that measure, existed in those sections of the State which border on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Many slave holders had made large purchases of land, and some of them temporary, others permanent settlements, under the full conviction that they should succeed in their despotic designs. The good sense of the people, however, triumphed over unprincipled avarice and shameless tyranny. The petty nabobs were under the necessity of removing their ragged vassals to places where custom had rendered the practice of violating the sacred rights of man less odious in the eyes of the deluded inhabitants. Many were obliged to "ferry them o'er the wave," and hire them out in Kentucky and

Missouri.* This is the case with numbers at this moment. Members of Congress from that State, are now figuring away at Washington City, ostensibly the most patriotic in the patriot ranks, while they have *bondmen* and *bondwomen*, as above mentioned, toiling and bleeding under the lash of hardened creatures, whose only concern is, that the wretched victims of their unfeeling cruelty may earn them as much as possible!—And there is not a shadow of doubt that a great portion of the members of the State Legislature who now wish for a Convention, are persons of the same character as the members of Congress here alluded to. Two of them, one of whom resides near the town of America, the other not far from Brownsville, were exceedingly opposed to the limitation of slavery in Missouri, on the ground (*as they said*) that the sovereign people should decide the matter.  They both now advocate the call of a Convention. —And it may safely be said that very few, if any, who opposed the restriction, by Congress, were in favor of circumscribing the abominable system in any way. On the other hand it is believed the most of them secretly wished the slave party success, and even aided them in effecting their purpose, whenever they had the means of doing it.

* In the year 1819, a noted slave trader settled in the State of Illinois, near the bank of the Mississippi, some distance below St. Louis. His practice was, whenever he arrived with a gang, to send them into Missouri, and hire them out, or let them work for their living, until he could make sale of them. This wretch made great professions of *humanity*, (precisely as some of the advocates of slavery in that part of the country now do!) and upon one occasion, when expostulated with relative to his conduct, he asserted that he never bought and sold a negro but what he left in a better condition than he found. The first Christian professing trafficker in human flesh that history furnishes us with any particular account of, also made a similar asseveration:—and no doubt, the legally appointed tormentor of guilty souls would boast of the same thing, had he not sense enough to know that it would not be believed!

within their reach. The shameless effrontery manifested by many who bore the character of *republicans* on the floor of Congress, at that day, has induced these gentry to throw off the mask entirely; and cheeks that once were susceptible of a crimson glow, on a detection of the sordid wiles of the heart, now maintain their native pallid hue upon every similar occasion; and the political sinners, conceiving themselves unshackled by the terrors of popular scorn, set reason at defiance, and violate justice with impunity! By degrees, their hearts have become callous, and they appear to be fully prepared to trample, not only on the rights of their fellow-men, but also on the ordinance of Congress, by which their territory was erected into an independent State—on that sacred compact entered into by themselves, and for the strict and inviolable maintenance of which, their faith, their honour, their most solemn promise stands pledged!—so corrupt have they become, that the solemnity of treaties and the moral obligation of contracts are counted as nothing, if the violation of them can by any means be rendered subservient to their erroneous and avaricious views. They even appear willing to run the risk of being outlawed by the Government of the United States!—I say the risk of it, for they may rest assured that it will be a more difficult matter to procure a majority in the National Legislature to consent to the abrogation of an edict against the further extension of slavery, than to permit it to exist where it had been introduced before the country came into its possession. It is said that “revolutions seldom go backwards;” and I trust that the light of republican virtue is not yet to be extinguished, but that it will continue in its progressive state, in this Union, until every vestige of the feudal folly of our Saxon lawgivers shall be swept, with them, from the surface of the soil we inhabit.

It would seem to be a matter of astonishment to a sensible disinterested person, what can possibly induce any of the citizens of Illinois to desire the introduction of slavery into that state. With the examples of all the rest of the states before them, and viewing the present situation of those that have abolished the ruinous nation-destroying system, compared with such as yet tolerate it, he might suppose they would instantaneously reject the infamous proposition with the highest manifestation of scorn, and even with a de-

gree of horror.—And in all parts of the state, except those adjacent to Kentucky and Missouri, as before mentioned, it will, undoubtedly, be so rejected.—There, the creatures who are disposed to exercise the power of tyrants have the press under their controul; and there, no doubt, the voice of the *people* will be in a measure stifled, unless they rouse from their slumber, as the lion from his lair, and drive, with the irresistible force of the ballot box, this *African Hyæna*, the ravenous destroyer of her sable sons, headlong into the Mississippi's impetuous torrent; beyond which if the deluded inhabitants choose to cherish it, let them reap the reward of their folly.—They will one day sorely repent it.

CITIZENS OF ILLINOIS.—By all that is sacred and dear to you, as freemen, let me conjure you to consider well the importance of the question before you, and suffer not the monster slavery to pollute with its unhallowed footsteps the delightful plains of your state.—By the blood of those martyrs in the cause of freedom, who fell in the war of the North American revolution, be warned of the danger of tolerating a spirit of oppression.—By the sufferings, the anxiety and the dreadful apprehensions of your brethren who now hold slaves, in some parts of our country, learn to avoid the direful state of things that must inevitably follow in the train of tyranny, tho circumscribed in a considerable degree, and confined to a particular class of people.—By the eternal principles of justice and mercy, without which you yourselves were at this moment writhing in all the agony of hopeless remediless despair for your numerous aberrations from the line of rectitude, be prevailed upon to raise your voice like a trumpet against the hellish attempt of barefaced corruptionists to crimson your fields with the blood of oppressed humanity.—And, lastly,—By the injunctions of the Saviour of the world, who came to preserve that which was lost, to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and to let the oppressed go free; let your hearts “burn within” you, as it were, with a desire to enforce the maxims and precepts, the “golden rule,” the law of truth, as held forth for our acceptance, by that holy, divine and eternal Legislator, who taught as no man teacheth, who spoke as the Oracle of God; yea, exert yourselves to the uttermost, in order to counteract the evil machinations, the

dark designs, the secret intrigues, and the despotic movements of those among you who have nothing in view save their own self-aggrandizement, which they hope to accomplish even if it must be at the expense of all besides.

If you so far lose sight of justice and propriety as to assent to the inundation of your state with those hordes of lawless banditti which the advocates of a convention now view, in perspective, assembling on your borders, what will be the probable, nay, the inevitable consequence? I answer, you will thereby let loose the whole kennel of human blood hounds, the kidnappers and soul-pedlars, in every section of the Union where people of colour can be bought, stolen, or inveigled away, to replenish the market for men women and children which you shall have thus opened; the Court yards and jails of your different Counties will become receptacles for naked, half starved, manacled and mangled human beings; your Court houses will be made the horrible shambles where human flesh and blood will be bought and sold; and your public officers will become agents in the business of demons—the legalized auctioneers of human souls!! The fetters, indeed, are now forging; the links of the infernal chains are now welding; the pistol and the whip are already in the hands of those christian arabs, those vile assassins of human liberty, those fiends in human form, whose hearts of adamant ne'er melt at human woe.—But the enormity of the evil which you would bring upon yourselves, is yet but faintly sketched.—Swarms of degraded beings, almost as ignorant as the beasts of the field, but far more vicious and mischievous than they, will throng your streets and highways by day, and infest your farms and houses by night.—Enemies by usage, they will consider plunder and pillage a legitimate object of pursuit;

* While performing a late tour thro the western parts of Virginia, I fell in with one of the patriotic toast makers from near Belville, who, as I understood, was making up a caravan of slaves for the supply of the Illinois market, in anticipation of the success of the advocates of Despotism there! The creature informed me, himself, that he expected to take in about two hundred. He was very sanguine of the success of their scheme, and appeared strongly in favour of it—but he was "told his own," in tolerably plain terms.

and hence, an actual state of warfare will exist. This is nothing more than what is now experienced in many parts of our country. Every virtuous man pronounces it a grievous curse; and will you act so exceedingly unwise as to entail it upon your children!

I have said nothing of the declension of morals and the corruption of political principle that must, in such case, ensue throughout the body politic; and the consequent danger of the encroachment of monarchy, aristocracy, or anarchy, upon our present beautiful system of government. This also recommends itself to your serious consideration. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it:" but if habituated, from infancy, to lording it over his fellow creatures, he will endeavour to practice the same thing, upon a large scale, when he arrives to a state of manhood.

On you, at this moment, the eye of the nation is fixed. The *Genius of Liberty* hovers o'er you with restless anxiety. Let your decision be such as to welcome the angel of virtue, & to dissipate her fears. Then shall your country still march onward in the career of glory. Then shall it become, indeed, an "asylum for the oppressed;" and its fame shall be as imperishable as the globe we inhabit.

COLONIZATION.

A letter from Thomas Jefferson, of which the article below is a copy, is now going the rounds of the newspapers. It will be recollected that this patriotic statesman was long since, like the great Washington, fully convinced of the evil of personal slavery, as well as national thralldom; but altho he has not, to our knowledge, taken the same measure that the former did, to shew his abhorrence of the impolitic system, yet his writings on the subject, have become a part of the history of this nation, & they cannot fail of having a powerful effect in producing that change in the state of our affairs which is absolutely necessary to establish our character as consistent republicans. There cannot be a shadow of doubt that when the "last will and testament" of Thomas Jefferson shall be made known, we shall have a further evidence of his opinion that "Freedom is the natural right of all men,"—and also, that it is not impolitic, to "set the slaves free among us," when they are prepared to enjoy their freedom. This was the opinion of Washington; and it may also be safely said that it is the opinion

of every philanthropist in the United States who is possessed of a sound judgement, and whose mind is not clouded by prejudice.

Of the propriety or the expediency of colonizing our free blacks, I shall say nothing now. —My opinion on that subject is recorded in several Numbers of this work. I am pleased to see the discussion of the question going on. It will tend to draw the public attention to an amelioration of the condition to which our avarice has reduced some hundreds of thousands of our fellow creatures; and the effect cannot be otherwise than salutary, *provided those who have thrown off the shackles of prejudice and are actuated by pure political motives, will DO THEIR DUTY.*

Monticello, Jan. 21, 1811.

SIR: You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Miffin, to take measures for procuring, on the coast of Africa, an establishment to which the people of color of these States might from time to time be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. Having long ago made up my mind on this, I have no hesitation in saying that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population. Most advantageous for themselves as well as for us; going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization, which might render their sojournment here a blessing in the end to that country.

I received, in my first year of entering into the administration of the general government, a letter from the Governor of Virginia,* consulting me at the request of the Legislature of the State on the means of procuring some such Asylum to which these people might be occasionally sent. I proposed to him the establishment of Sierra Leone, in which a private company in England had already colonized a number of negroes, particularly the fugitives from these States during the Revolutionary War; and at the same time suggested, if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America as most desirable.

You inquired further, whether I would use my endeavors to procure such an establishment secure against violence from other

powers, and particularly the French. Certainly I shall be willing to do any thing to give it effect and safety.

But I am but a private individual, and could only use endeavors with individuals. Whereas the national Government can address themselves at once to those of Europe to obtain the desired security, and will, unquestionably, be ready to exert its influence with those nations to effect an object so benevolent in itself, and so important to a great portion of its constituents. Indeed, nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would, themselves, undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.

Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all expenses, but for this, the national mind is not prepared. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether any of these people would voluntarily consent to such an exchange of situation, and but few of those who are advanced to a certain age in habits of slavery, would be capable of governing themselves: this should not, however, discourage the experiment, nor the early trial of it. And propositions should be made with all the prudent caution and attention requisite to reconcile it to the interest, the safety, and prejudice of all parties.

Accept the assurance of my respects and esteem. THOMAS JEFFERSON.

KENTUCKY SENTIMENTS!

The attention of the reader is invited to the articles below, especially the one from the Kentucky paper. Such things should not be suffered to pass unnoticed. When men of influence in society become so hardened, and undertake to palm their odious principles upon the public, they should be watched. Let a "mark" be set upon them.

FROM THE EDWARDSVILLE SPECTATOR.

Extract of a letter from a citizen of this town, now on a visit to Fayette county, Kentucky, dated Nov. 8, 1823.

"There are many persons in Illinois, who assert that the Kentuckians are all in favor of having slavery introduced into that state. This, I assure you, is not correct. Many well informed and respectable persons in Kentucky have told me that they would consider it puerile in Illinois, to introduce so great an evil. And many Kentuckians have moved to that section of country, and many more intend moving, *merely to get out of the way of slavery.*"

On noticing the above, the editor of

* Mr. Monroe, now President of the United States.

the *Kentucky Gazette* remarks—

"If the writer of the letter, or the author of its publication, means that there are a few individuals in Kentucky who do not wish slavery in Illinois, there is no imposition in the letter; but if the object is to say, that the wishes of this state are opposed to slavery in other states, it is a mistake; for however desirous Kentucky may be, on moral principles, to oppose the introduction of slavery any where, she sees no prospect of a change; and therefore, for the sake of harmony, desires that the slaves of the Union should be admitted into every section—As regards the best interest of Illinois, of which we speak with reluctance, we are satisfied the introduction of slavery would tend to promote the present and future prosperity of that delightful country; it is too far from the non-slave-holding states to derive the advantages of emigration from that quarter, equal to Ohio and Indiana, and of necessity it must look to slave-holding states for population."

Now it is difficult to form an idea of a more cold, frigid, *anti republican* sentiment than is here expressed by the editor of the *Kentucky Gazette*.—The people of that State will feel themselves vastly obliged to him for his gratuitous assumption of the office of Trumpeter for them!—But if the assertion be correct, they might well be ashamed of their opinions: and I had thought that John Ficklin possessed more good sense than to have exposed his own prejudice and corrupted principles in this way—I say *his own*, for he knows about as much of the public sentiment, on that subject, as those who would not be willing to hazard such an assertion as he has made.

That there are many persons, residing in Kentucky (not "a few") who are fully sensible of the evils of slavery, I know full well: and it would be doing them an injustice to suppose they could entertain a desire to see their brethren of other States, who are now happily exempted from those evils, reduced to such a deplorable condition. Nothing but a feeling the most dead to friendship and Christian fellowship, could prompt the monstrous idea. That John Ficklin may entertain such an opinion, appears evident; but I trust that his neighbors will set him down as a cold hearted misanthrope, and stamp his name with the character it really deserves.

I have not leisure, at present, to notice in a proper manner all the silly remarks in this short paragraph. The concluding part would induce a person to believe that

the said editor is exceedingly ignorant, or inconceivably stupid. One thing is certain—he is no Yankee; or he never would have spoken of the difficulties of emigration as he has done. The extreme southwestern parts of the State, are now rapidly settling by emigrants from the non slave holding states; & are destined to be filled up by such, together with those in the other States (a large and increasing number) who "intend moving, merely to get out of the way of slavery."

FIVE MINUTES CONVERSATION.

Slaveholder.—I see no probability of the slaves ever being emancipated. They are among us, and the only way to manage them is to feed them well and make them work like ———.

Emancipator.—They did not come among us of their own accord; and we are bound by every tie of virtue and humanity to meliorate their suffering condition.

S.—They are now happier, by far, than we are ourselves. As they are provided for by their masters, they have little or no care on their minds. Many of them are well clothed, and "fare sumptuously every day." What more can they desire?

E.—Some of them "fare" well, as to filling the belly and clothing the back—Others are, absolutely, worse off than the dogs. But how can one man judge of the actual state of another's mind? Would you be willing to change places with them?

S.—I never have been accustomed to their situation.

E.—Would you be willing to make trial?

S.—

E.—No man can enjoy happiness when divested of freedom. It is contrary to the law of nature. There will always, in such case be something rankling in his bosom. A man clothed in rags, with nothing but a crust of corn bread to eat, while he is his own master, is far more happy than him who is dressed in the gayest apparel and dines at the rich man's table, while he is in continual dread of the rich man's *licks & cuffs*.—This is the truth; and you know it.

S.—Negroes are extremely bad when they get a notion that they are entitled to freedom; and when freed, you cannot yourselves manage them. You spoil them by your exertions to meliorate their condition as you call it.

E.—I ask pardon. It is *you* that "spoil them;" and having no other plea for continuing your unjust and cruel system, you make that, and charge it to our account!

You degrade and demoralize your fellow-creatures, and say, behold how inferior they are to us! You destroy each latent spark of virtue in their bosoms, and declaim against their vicious propensities!—You withhold from them the scriptures, containing the mild benign principles of Christianity, and allow them, in general, to understand nothing so well as your war songs and war speeches, and then blame them for entertaining the sentiments which you have inculcated in them! In imitation of the barbarous treatment of insects, by truant school boys, you maim, break the legs and half deprive of life, then exclaim, with the utmost sang froid, "*How crippling they go!!!*"

But none of them are so bad but that they may be governed on the principle of justice:—and the present state of things cannot always continue.—A change must come. Happy will it be for the country, if it be not effected *by violence*.—And this is what we are endeavouring to prevent.

S.—I am no way apprehensive of their ever being able to overcome us.

E.—you need be under no such apprehensions, in some particular districts, where you as well the slaves are comparatively few in number. *The non-slaveholders will guard you.* But some of your brethren, in other places, are in a more critical situation.

S.—We would, if necessary, go and help them.

E.—Perhaps when it would be too late, The deed would be done!—their dwellings would be in ashes—their dwellings in the other world, ere you could arrive to succor them. True, you might overpower their enemies.—You might perform exploits similar to theirs; and perhaps *enrich* yourselves by it. You could retake the plunder that had been taken; and as there would be few, if any, that could set up what you would call a legal claim to it, you might bear it away in triumph; and perhaps you would also reduce some of the marauders again to obedience, and take them into your own service, *to play a similar game among your children, at some future day!*—These things you might accomplish; but I beseech you to think seriously upon it. The great Jefferson fears that something of the kind may take place at some period; and so do I.

S.—Well, if you must free them, send them off. It will not do to keep them here, when emancipated.

E.—Put a hand then, to the carriage wheel, and help us:—but first let us en-

deavour to remove the grievous burthen of *prejudice* under which we labour.—When that be done, half the business will be completed.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
MONARCHUS & REPUBLICUS.

(Continued from page 106, vol. 3.)

THIRD DAY.

Mon. I have been collecting what strength I could, and, according to promise, have marched out this morning for another rencontre.

Rep. Well then, let us be at it, and bring the contest to a conclusion.

Mon. As our law makers are generally slave holders, I have sometimes thought that, instead of making laws in favor of emancipation, they will be so provoked with your petitions, and publications, that they will make a law, prohibiting the emancipation of slaves at all, under pain of severe penalties.

Rep. I entertain a much more favorable opinion of the good sense and justice of our Legislators, than to suppose them capable of so flagrant an act of despotism in this enlightened age; for so rapid has been the march of the rays of light on this subject within these fifty years last past, that I sometimes flatter myself that slavery will be far more unpopular in America in fifty years to come, than it is now fashionable.

But should a law be made in our Country to prohibit the emancipation of slaves, such Legislators would be in the hands of the Almighty, as certainly as the Monarch of Egypt was when he bid him defiance by saying:—"who is the Lord that I should obey his voice to let Israel go," and so made their burdens much more heavy and grievous, by taking from them the means of facilitating their labor; and not only so, but so greedy was he of the gain of oppression, that he even commanded the two Hebrew *manumissionists*, to shoulder their burdens, with the rest of their enslaved brethren. But this act was but a prelude to the storms of divine vengeance which came on that nation, and to the speedy and final emancipation of the slaves in that country; and such no doubt, would be the case in ours, should such a rigorous measure be adopted by government.

Mon. I have observed that but few of the most wealthy and influential of our citizens, if any, have become members of your association—I cannot conceive what success

such an assemblage of men as you are, without money, learning or influence, can promise yourselves in an enterprise of such magnitude.

Rep. It has never been very fashionable for many of the most wealthy and influential men, in any age or country, to be employed in humane and benevolent enterprises—there were none of that description among the twelve poor fishermen that were commissioned to evangelize the world.

It has never been known that many of the most wealthy, have made any great pretensions, even to religion, until it was first ornamented with a splendid worldly Coat, and appeared in Silver Slippers; in which case, some of them have become its pretended admirers, for the sake of gaining popularity, and because it was fashionable to be religious.

As wealth and learning have never been made the pillars of human reformations, the poor, and the illiterate, with a few exceptions, have, under God, been the principal agents in most of the great events that have been accomplished in the world, wherein human agency had any concern; and as the cause which the manumissionists have espoused, is the cause of humanity and justice, and consequently of heaven, they have every reason, contemptible as they may appear, to expect complete success to attend their exertions, whilst under the protection of divine patronage.

Mon. A custom of such great antiquity, I am persuaded, is not so easily removed as you may imagine, if ever it is, for it is thought by the most learned and knowing men of our day, that slavery has existed even since the days of *Nimrod*; and as grey hairs are venerable, and age is honorable, I should think that if it had been a crime, it would not have continued until this time.

Rep. According to your doctrine, murder, from its great age, must certainly be a very justifiable act at this period, for it has been in existence in every part of the world ever since the days of *Cain*, which were several generations before the time of *Nimrod*; and from the superior hoariness of its locks, and vast age, it must have a much higher claim to veneration and honor than *Slavery* can possibly make!

Mon. I did not think of that. But now reflect, there is a positive command in scripture, against murder,

Rep. There is; and there is also as positive a command against *Slavery*; for it is said in several places in scripture, "thou shalt not oppress."

Mon. But is it not said in scripture, that Noah cursed Ham's posterity, and prophesied that they should be servants of servants to their brethren?

Rep. None of them, but Canaan his youngest son, from whom the Canaanites descended, and who settled in the land of Canaan; and there is no account that any of them were black. These Canaanites, for their great wickedness, were to be destroyed or driven out by the Israelites, the late servants of the Egyptians; but the Gibeonites, a branch of the Canaanites, wittily made peace with Israel, and after the cheat was discovered, Joshua condemned them, not to personal servitude, but to be hewers of wood and drawers of water as a religious service, for the congregation in its rites of divine worship; and if there was any spirit of prophecy in the curses of an old man just awaked from a fit of drunkenness, I suppose his prediction was accomplished in this particular instance. The rest of the Canaanites were either destroyed, or driven out of the country; and it is the opinion of some, that they colonized at least a part of Europe, and the European Islands, which, if correct, there is a greater probability that we descended from the Canaanites, than the Africans did.

Mon. But Abraham was a good man, and yet he had servants born in his house, and bought with money—If slavery is wrong, why had he slaves?

Rep. It is indeed said in Scripture that Abraham had servants, and that he had 318 of them that were trained for war, I suppose for the purposes of self defence, and for the protection of his little patriarchy from the ravages of invading foes, and yet I presume, there was not a slave in his family.

Mon. If they did not serve in the capacity of slaves, why did he buy them, or even have them at all?

Rep. The customs of the people in that day and country, were quite different from the customs of our day and country—the people were generally divided into clans or tribes, over each of which, some one of the most eminent for wisdom and integrity presided in the capacity of Patriarch or general Father, as is the case to this day with the *Arabs* or *Ishmaelites*, who descended from Abraham, and who, no doubt, have ever since followed the example of the predecessor.

To this chief or patriarch, all his family connexions, and as many more as he might think proper, were assembled with the wives and children, and whatever proper

they possessed, forming a kind of confederated republic—each family having its household government and bye laws, yet all of them acting in subordination to the laws of the federal government thus constituted, in submission to the counsel of their federal head.

Mon. If this was the case, why were they said to be his servants, and born in his house?

Rep. It was a mode of expression peculiar to that country. The being born in his house, implies the being born in his patriarchal household; for by the bye, Abraham had no house, but lived in a tent. We have specimens of this mode of expression in other parts of scripture, as: the house of David, the house of Israel, and &c.—The servants of David, of Saul, of Benhadad, &c: meaning their subjects or such as submitted to their government.

Mon. But if Abraham's servants only lived under him as subjects of a patriarchal government, and were free in all other respects, what could have induced him to lay out his money in the purchase of more, if they were to be free also?

Rep. There were *soul pellars* in them days, as well as now; and Abraham being a righteous, and of course, a humane man, may have bought many of the poor sufferers that came in his way, for the double purpose of leading them to the knowledge of the true God, and of strengthening his tribe against the depredations of marauders, with which he was surrounded—that to *LIBERATE a slave* and otherwise to use him well was the only way to secure his affections and confidence—an effect, evidently the very reverse of withholding from him that freedom, which is the brightest jewel in the crown of human nature.

Mon. These things seem a little strange, though some of them appear feasible; but I always entertained the idea that Abraham bought them for the purpose of continuing them in slavery, as we do.

Rep. I suppose it to be a common thing for such as are unacquainted with ancient eastern customs, to interpret them by those of our own country, to which, many of them have not the least analogy.

Mon. But the Jews were allowed to buy servants of the nations that were round about them, which is certainly a sufficient warrant for us to do so.

Rep. We are not Jews, but are descended from these very heathen nations which the Jews were allowed to take into servitude; and if that charter holds good to them

yet, they have a right, if they had the power, to buy every slave holder, and slave too; with every other person in America, that is not a Jew, and consign us to servitude; if they could find any other nation that would undertake to sell us, as no other nation, that we read of ever had such a grant besides the Jews. But as I said, we are not Jews; nor have we any right to blend the Christian and Jewish dispensations together in support of our lucrative wishes. The Jewish covenant of peculiarity has long since been dissolved; the middle wall of partition between Jews and gentiles broken down, and all nations placed on an equality, as it respects that covenant; nor yet have we a right to produce the grant to the Jews in support of African slavery, any more than we have a right to produce their customs of polygamy, circumcision, stoning to death, killing all, both men women and children in war, or any other barbarous custom of that dark age, in support of the like now.

Mon. The Jews were God's chosen people:—how is it that you charge them with acts of barbarity?

Rep. They were God's chosen people as having descended from the loins of Abraham, to whom the promise was made, that in his seed, all the families of the earth should be blessed by the coming of Christ, who, according to the flesh, was the seed of Abraham; but Paul informs us that all are not Israel that are of Israel; for the Jews, throughout their generations, were complained of, as being a disobedient and stiff necked people. When the Jews asked Christ why Moses allowed them to divorce their wives, if it was not right, he informed them that it was for the hardness of their hearts that he wrote them that precept; and as the Jews were surrounded by Pagan idolators who were in the practice of enslaving their fellow men, it is quite probable that the Jews, being a hard hearted people in general, wished to copy after their heathen neighbors in the instance of slavery, as well as in that of idolatry; but to prevent them from enslaving their own Jewish brethren, had the permit given them to buy of the heathen, for the same reason divorcement was suffered amongst them; though, as in the case of divorcement, it was not so

*It is not likely that the "servants" bought by the Jews, were held by any other tenure than that by which German and other "Redemptioners," are now held by us.—*Editor.*

from the beginning, as they were positively commanded: "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger."

Mon. If the enslaving the heathen was allowed to the Jews for their hard heartedness, why not allowed to us for the same reason—the Almighty has not changed his nature I presume?

Rep. He has not, but is the same from everlasting to everlasting, and changes not; but he has seen proper to change the dispensation,—abrogating the old Jewish code by establishing a better covenant, and bringing in an everlasting righteousness by Christ our great law giver and judge, who has established the law of loving our neighbors as ourselves, and doing to others as we would that they should do to us, for the universal government of the moral world.

Mon. I have as yet been quite unsuccessful in our contest; with your permission, I will retire for the evening, and perhaps, by to morrow I shall have collected a better budget of arguments than I have yet been able to obtain.

Rep. Men experience difficulties in defending a bad cause.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

REASON AND TRUTH AGAINST DELUSION AND ERROR.

As Reason and Truth were conversing together, a few evenings past, on the signs of the times, in the course of their conversation, Truth observed to Reason, that he had been informed a certain number of beings, under the character of men, who resided in the City of New York, had associated together, in order to aid the Greeks, (A people that inhabit the Western Shores of Asia, several thousand miles distant from the United States of America) towards the promotion of their emancipation:—and in order to carry into effect this aid, they had appointed a Committee to solicit and receive subscriptions on behalf of these people. And they further resolved, that a list of the names of all persons, subscribing to this fund, with the amount subscribed by each, be from time to time published in the news papers, at the discretion of the donors. Now says Truth to Reason, I want thy aid in ascertaining the motives that should lead these men into such a novel business, seeing I have always understood that they profess to be reasonable beings. I trust thou canst tell me whether their conduct is rational, and in unison with thee or not; or whether they only have the name, but do not possess a power derived from thee, and are guided

by their own interested motives, without any regard either to reason or truth.

Reason then observed to Truth: that in order to give a right decision on any subject, or proposition, it is necessary to be acquainted with all the circumstances and hearings, that the question involves.—Therefore I would like to know the true state of these Greeks, and by what means they became oppressed, so as to stand in need of emancipation. Now if thou canst explain to me their present situation, and by what means they were reduced to it, it may enable me to give my judgment in the case.—Truth.—I am perfectly willing to give thee the best information I am possessed of, as it regards the subject before us. I conclude thou art very well versed in the Scriptures, by which we are informed, that for the misconduct of the Israelites, the Lord gave their land and all their cities, into the hands of their enemies, who oppressed them, and laid them under tribute: this also fell to the lot of the neighboring nations for the same cause, the Greeks among the rest. This state of things continued a considerable time under the sovereignty of the Romans, but in process of time Mahomet rose up, as a scourge, to chastise these people for their iniquities, and by his wiles he gained the sovereignty of the western parts of Asia.—And he, after the example of other nations, laid the conquered nations under tribute, which the conquered agreed to, for the privilege of enjoying the liberty of occupying their possessions, subjected to this tribute, as an acknowledgement of their submission to the conquerors. Thou hast also read the account of the crusades, or holy wars, as they were called by professed Christians, but which, with much more propriety have been called *unholy wars*, as all wars are unholy to Christians. Now those wars were entered into under the same pretence as the present wars of the Greeks, and were set on foot, by the ignorant, superstitious, and bigoted priests and monks of that day, who being too weak themselves, called in foreign aid; and the sequel fully proves the folly and wickedness of the design; and that they proceeded in their own will, in opposition to the Divine will, to free themselves from sufferings, before they had sufficiently atoned for their great transgressions.—Therefore, all their power was defeated and rendered abortive, and their folly only tended to continue and aggravate their sufferings.

In this view the query arises, have not the Greeks risen up in their own wills &

exonerate themselves from suffering, before the right time, and before they have sufficiently atoned for *their* transgressions.—Let us examine the subject a little by that perfect rule given by Jesus Christ, seeing the Greeks profess to be his followers (viz.) Every tree is known by its fruit, and every man, and every nation, by their overt acts, by their conduct. We find that when the Lord's time came to deliver Israel from the bondage of Pharaoh, and the Egyptians, he did it without the stroke of sword; and when he admitted the use of the sword, as they obeyed his commands, he led them forth to conquest, he never failed them. But the Greeks have taken up the sword, contrary to the command and example of Him whom they profess to follow, and are making nearly or quite as cruel a use of it, as far as their power extends, as do their enemies; and instead of patiently enduring their tribulations, after the example and doctrines of the holy founder of the Christian dispensation, and his self-denying disciples, and looking for help from the Lord, they are seeking it from man, and are acting a part, that gives cause to fear they may be adding sin to sin, and are thereby forging more links to the chain of their oppression, by which their sufferings may be prolonged. Thus Reason, I have given thee, in a general way, a short sketch, or description, of the present state of the Greeks, and the way they were brought to it. Now I want thou shouldst give me thy opinion of the reasons and motives of these citizens of New York, who have associated together to assist the Greeks, in carrying on the war against those they call their oppressors. Reason.—Well Truth, if thy description of the present state of the Greeks is correct, I must confess I am led to apprehend that the motives of these men, are neither pure nor rational, when all that pertains to the business, is taken into consideration.

For, 1st, these men profess to be rational, and also to be Christians: 2d, to be a Christian, is to fulfil the doctrine and commands, and walk in the example of Jesus Christ; but this, neither the Greeks, nor those who are associated in New York, to aid them in carrying on a bloody war, are doing, but each are acting directly contrary thereto; therefore, every truly rational man knows, that to profess one thing, and then act directly contrary thereto, is irrational. The Apostle tells us, that such as are without chastisement, are bastards and not sons; and we see daily, that every good thing hath its counterfeit.—There is a counterfeit

Christianity, and a counterfeit reason.—Now these are both impure, as they are always made use of for selfish ends, to promote our self-interest, without any regard to truth, but right reason is always in subordination to the truth, and is never separated from it. Man hath power to use that faculty of the mind in direct opposition to truth, but that is a counterfeit, a bastard kind, and cannot endure chastisement, and therefore cannot inherit any good. Now it is this false reason, that produces false christianity, both of which are impure, and both grow out of impure motives.

To prove this still more plain, we will notice their 3d resolution, viz. "That all persons subscribing to the Greek fund, shall have their names, with the sums subscribed by each, put into the newspapers."—Hence the query arises, what for? The answer likewise naturally suggests itself, for ostentation, and to obtain the praise of men. Verily, says our great pattern, they have their reward: and he saith further, "but when thou doest alms let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth, that thine alms may be in secret, and thy father that seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly."—I can bring further evidence of the unreasonableness and impurity of these men's motives.—Have we not thousands, and tens of thousands, of human beings in these United States, much more innocent than the Greeks, that are at this moment suffering ten fold greater oppression and cruelty than ever would have been the case with the Greeks, had they not taken up arms against those they call their oppressors, to whom they had long before agreed to pay a tribute? And are not all their sufferings a mere pigmy, compared with the sufferings of the innocent Africans, and their descendants, whom we have, as a nation, by unheard of oppression and cruelty, reduced to the lowest state of degradation, even to a level with the beasts of the field, and who are worse treated? It would be more consistent with justice and mercy, first to relieve the oppressed in our own land, seeing we have been the active and willing instruments of their sufferings and woe, than to extend our views to a nation several thousand miles off, that we have no necessary concern with, nor know little about, neither is it our business or duty to meddle with their concerns, nor the quarrels or disputes which exist between them, and their neighboring nations.—Therefore, I consider the steps taken by the association above alluded to, are marked with in-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

consistency and folly, and the fruits they produce bear full witness thereto, as some of the very means that Satan has ever made use of to exalt his kingdom of darkness, are made use of to carry into effect this irrational contribution; and I cannot help believing, that most of those concerned in it, act from selfish motives. Can any reasonable man, believe that the promoters of balls, or the actors in theatres, have any other motive than self-interest, while acting in such foolish and licentious concerns; and what better can we conceive of the hireling clergy, who are brought over by a thirst after popularity, and the praise of men, to act such a farce, as to undertake the preaching of sermons to pick the people's pockets in order to help the Greeks, whom they know little or nothing about, nor even whether it would not be as well to help the Turks.

Well, says Truth, (to Reason,) thou hast fully satisfied me, as to the principal motives of these men, in the case before us; but can no good be produced by this exercise that we have passed through? It is said of the little industrious bee, that it extracts honey from every flower, not only from such as are sweet, but also from those that stink. We have spent some time in the investigation of one that seems to have bloomed prematurely, and hath not a very good savour; can we draw nothing from it that will produce sweetness?—Suppose we should turn the lines right about, from the Greeks, to the poor oppressed slaves in our country, as that would turn it into justice and mercy, both of which thou knowest are sweet, and then call in the aid of some more of our society, (viz.) Wisdom to counsel, and Justice to direct, and true Charity, the mistress of all the sister virtues, to encourage and hand forth, & some more of our good will friends, that will freely enter the work without fee or reward, except what Heaven furnishes.—And let a committee be appointed to solicit and receive subscriptions on behalf of this poor, deeply oppressed and sorely grieved people, who are held in cruel bondage in these United States, in order to effect their emancipation, and to purchase a tract of land in the southwestern, interior, or unimproved parts of the United States, where they may be assisted to settle a colony, or state by themselves, and be instructed to form a government, and when properly regulated as a republican state, be taken into the Union as one of the United States; as nothing short of so doing, will be a just recompence for the wrongs we have done them.

This being agreed to, the following resolutions were adopted:—

Resolved, That Faith, Hope and Charity be a committee to carry into effect the above conclusions, who are desired to prepare a subscription suitable to the occasion; and Justice, Mercy and Truth, are desired to sign it, on behalf of the association. Industry, Perseverance, and Prudence, are appointed to present a copy thereof to the supervisors of every City and Town in the United States, requesting them in behalf of this association, to present it or procure to be presented, to every inhabitant of the respective cities or towns, and the money they collect to be paid into the hands of our trusty friend Honesty, whom we appoint Treasurer to this institution.

As it is a subject of great magnitude, and the cause altogether just and righteous, we feel an encouraging hope that our fellow citizens at large, will not fail to be liberal and not consider it a call upon them an act of mere charity, but as a voluntary requisition, for the payment of a sacred and just debt, which the citizens of the United States really owe to this long oppressed and aggrieved people.

Resolved, That when the subscriptions have been circulated as aforesaid, and the sums collected and paid into the Treasury, this association will meet again, to arrange and carry into effect, the great and benevolent object of the institution.—And as the association for assisting the Greeks, which some of our fellow citizens have entered into, if not put by, may have a tendency to obstruct the progress of this more just, more righteous, and more necessary one; we think it right to appoint a committee to make a visit to the Chairman and Secretary of that institution, and such one of the members as way may open for, to treat with them in a suitable and courteous manner, and endeavour to prevail with them to give up that business for the present, to join with us, until we have complied with and fulfilled the requisition of that more loud, more just, and more holy call, from our poor, oppressed neighbors, and sorrowing fellow citizens.—To this service we appoint Wisdom, Prudence, and Perseverance, and we would recommend the committee to call upon them in the course of the day, after the example of the wise Vor of Adam and Eve; and we also address them to call in Conscience to their aid, which may render their visit more effectual.

Resolved, That the last named committee present an address to the general Gov-

ment, and also to the Legislature of each State, requesting them to use every right means in their power, consistent with justice and truth, to encourage and carry into effect, the dignified, the righteous, and benevolent object of this institution.

Signed,

REASON.

TRUTH.

An Editor of a Newspaper who seems led away by the popular current, the anxiety to help the Greeks, observes, that if each individual in the United States, were to give 12½ cents, it would amount to more than 1,250,000 Dollars.—And I am fully in the belief, that if a voluntary subscription, or contribution, was set on foot under the direction, and superintendence of the Congress of the United States, for the benevolent, the just and noble purpose above stated—for the redress of the oppressed in our land, that instead of 12½ cents, our citizens would very generally, and very readily, according to circumstances, give from 5 to 50, and some 500 dollars each, and soon raise a sum sufficient to carry into effect the emancipation, and settlement of all the oppressed in our land, and thereby wipe off from the nation, that black stain of guilt, and oppression, that now hangs over us, and exposes us to the just ridicule, and contempt, of those we style heathen nations.—This would in some measure atone to heaven, for the cruelty and wrongs, we have by violence and spoil imposed on that innocent people.—And it would seem, as though I heard every christian virtue exclaim, “*let it be done with speed*,” before the long forbearing mercy of a gracious God be passed over, and his retributive justice fall heavy on this greatly offending nation.”

*A True Philanthropist,
and Lover of his Country.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO THE EDITOR.—The present is certainly one of the most singular ages that the world has ever experienced, and one in which, that old adage, “*charity begins at home*,” seems to be entirely laid aside. By some strange fatality, our commiseration for suffering humanity appears to have left the objects of pity in our own regions to shift as they can, and has winged its way to foreign nations and distant climes.

Exertions unequalled since the days of Peter the hermit, are making to deliver the heathen world from the darkness of paganism, and to convert its inhabitants to the illenial purity of the popular orthodoxy

of our time. How far these exertions may be attended with success, past experience furnishes ample grounds for conjecture. A brilliant sample of our unbounded sympathy for foreign sufferers, to the neglect of our own, is exhibited in the deliberations and resolutions of the Legislature of South-Carolina, for the Greeks, in their struggle for emancipation from Turkish oppression—a communication of which was laid before the senate of the United States, at the present session of Congress, as noticed in the American Economist of the 24th of January. What a picture of human depravity, not to say of inconsistency and hypocrisy, is here presented to the world! The bowels of these tender hearted Carolinians melt with commiseration for the oppressed Greeks, who are struggling to get from under the *Turkish yoke of bondage*! *How justly do they deprecate the injustice, the cruelty, and tyranny of the Turks*, in thus oppressing and enslaving their own species—their brethren, all made of one blood! This is very well, as far as it extends; but where are their bowels of mercy, their sympathies and resolutions, for restoring to their native independence, the *thousands of degraded Africans*; over whom, both themselves, and their fathers before them, have ruled with despotic sway, and, perhaps, with worse than Turkish insolence and cruelty. Whether the Turks commiserate the Africans in their sufferings, & are forming resolutions favorable to the recognition of their independence, or not, I have not learned; or whether the heathen world, in whose conversion to our creeds, we appear to be so deeply interested, see and deplore our moral and religious corruptions, and are making exertions for our reformation; I have not been informed; doubtless, they have as good grounds, in either case, for deploring our oppressions and our moral depravity, as we have for theirs.*

But the same kind of pity which influenced the legislature of South Carolina seems

* The following story of a Missionary among the Indians, is doubtless familiar to most of the readers of this work; tho some may never have heard it.

A Missionary having applied to a chief of one of the tribes of northern Indians for permission to reside among them, in order to teach them the doctrines of Christianity, was, after due deliberation, denied the privilege, on the ground that *the white people held black men and women in a state of slavery*. It is but natural to

to have found its way into Tennessee; for I observe in the Economist of January 31st, over the signature of "a subscriber," a spirited address to the citizens of Tennessee, on the importance of extending their liberality to the "*suffering and degraded Greeks.*" In this address, the writer appears to be moved by an overflowing sympathy for that afflicted people, and urges the example of other states, as a stimulus to our citizens to send the objects of his commiseration a donation of 1000 rifle guns, himself furnishing one. To excite our sympathy, and to arouse our dormant passions, he very pathetically tells us that the Greeks are Christians, and, that they should be *crushed by barbarous Turks*, without a helping hand from Christendom, is unnatural and antichristian, and is *not doing to others as we would have others to do to us*. He further observes; "that but for the Greeks, the world might at this day have been worshipping a Juggernaut, the crocodile," &c.—Happy preservation! and happier yet, were we as fully delivered from the equally idolatrous adoration of the great golden Mammon of Christendom!

But to return; as an individual, I feel a deep interest in the liberation of the oppressed Greeks from under the crushing hands of the *barbarous Turks*; so that I frankly give the gentleman credit for his generosity, as far as it goes; but as I am one of that odd sort of fellows that always maintain a predilection for ancient customs and long established maxims, I have thought that we should keep, at least the one half of our charity for home consumption, and not expend the whole of it upon strangers at a distance, while so many are needing it amongst ourselves. I hope the "subscriber" will think of this, and that in his next communication, he will give the public a statement of how much he is willing to contribute in some kind of property, less hostile to human life than "rifle guns," for the legal emancipation of those *degraded Greeks—alias Africans, who are crushed by the "barbarous" nominal Christians of our own boasted free country!!!*

OLD FASHIONED.

suppose that people who make an ostentatious display of charity abroad, while it is greatly needed at home, are actuated more by the spirit of pharisaic pride than any thing else; and this is soon discovered. When our Saviour was manifest in the flesh, he denounced such as *hypocrites*.—EDITOR.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Liberty is certainly one of the unalienable rights of man, and one of the greatest temporal blessings we enjoy as individuals, or as a nation.

America is said to be a land of liberty, the seat of virtue and happiness, and an asylum for the oppressed.—Do we make it such?

Ye free born sons of America, who are in possession of the tender feelings of humanity, let your ears be open to the cries of the distressed! There are now, in this boasted land of "freedom," near two millions of our fellow mortals groaning under the galling yoke of American despotism, who are, with few exceptions, reduced to bondage, degradation and misery;—yet we boast of our privileges—of our liberty and equality, while we have among us numberless petty tyrants, that reign in pomp and splendour over their fawning brethren and go clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day, while they have scores of beggars about their gates and yards that would be glad of the crumbs which fall from their masters' tables; yet their owners are as far from relieving them any further than they may suppose compatible with their interest, as the rich man was from relieving Lazarus. I do not say they will receive their portion with the rich man; but I have no hesitancy in saying, that unless they reform, they cannot receive the portion of Lazarus, in Abraham's bosom, because they are a people who walk after the imaginations of their own hearts; whose tongues are like unto arrows shot out, full of deceit; for behold, while they speak peaceably with their mouth, their heart lieth in wait. Do they provoke me to anger saith the Lord—or do they not rather, provoke themselves, to the confusion of their own faces? While pondering these things I am almost ready to cry out with the prophet Jeremiah: "O that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as fountains of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughters of my people."

No doubt some are ready to say that many slaveholders make a profession of religion, and appear to be in the high road to heaven.

That there are numbers of them who profess religion, I do not deny;—but as to their being in the narrow way that leads through the celestial gates, into the holy City, I verily much scruple. I recollect the words of our Lord, where he says, "Judge not, lest ye

be judged. But without assuming the authority of a Judge, we are to know the tree by the fruit it bears. On investigation we find, that they have not even the externals of religion, much less the internal work of the holy spirit.—They may, perhaps, conform to some outward rules, or church ceremonies, for sake of popularity, yet generally speaking, they neglect the "weightier matters of the law;" because one of the leading traits of the christian character is, "to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God." But instead of doing justly, in giving their sable brethren their just dues, for which they have laboured hard, they do not in many cases, give them food sufficient to satisfy the cravings of nature; and as for their raiment, their ragged, and tattered garments, if garments they can be called, bear testimony for themselves. As for mercy, if we may judge the tree by the fruit, generally speaking, they appear to be almost as completely divested of it, as Cain was when he slew Abel; and Pharaoh like, they harden their hearts and frequently increase the tasks of their bondmen. Instead of humility, they are puffed up with pride as soon as they become masters, as they love to have themselves styled, and then think themselves a little above the common level of mankind, and would wish to see their indigent neighbours pay more homage to them, than they themselves are willing to pay to the great Creator!—This is the kind of humility they profess. It is written, if any man, love me, he will keep my commandments.—"and to do unto all men, as you would they should do unto you," I think a very binding command, and one that ought to be as strictly observed as any in the sacred volume.

(Conclusion in next Number)

PENNSYLVANIA ABOLITION SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the "Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, &c. &c." held at the Clarkson School House, in Cherry street, (Philadelphia) on the evening of the 25th inst. the undersigned persons were elected to the respective stations attached to their names.

President—William Rawle, Esq.

Vice-Presidents—Joseph M Paul and Josias Preston.

Secretaries—James Mott, jun. and Sam-

uel Mason, jun.

Treasurer—Henry Troth.

Counsellors—John Sergeant, David P. Brown, William Rawle, jun. Joseph P. Norris, jun. John Keating, jun. John C. Lower—Matthias Morris, Bucks county—Levi Paulding, Montgomery county—James Hopkins, Lancaster county—Samuel Edwards, Delaware county—Samuel Sitgreaves, Northampton county; — Barnetz, York county.

Board of Education—Edward Needles, Philip Price, jun. Blakely Sharpless, Thomas Hale, John Field, jun. Isaac Barton, Townsend Sharpless, Thomas Parker, jun. B. M. Hollingshead, Lindzey Nicholson, Benjamin Ellis, William Baker, and Joseph M. Trueman.

Acting Committee—William Baker, Samuel White, Joseph Evans, Thomas Shipley, Philip Price, jun. Marshal Atmore.

Electing Committee—Alexander shaw, Benjamin Cresson, Benjamin Ellis, Robert Murphy, Samuel White, James Cox, Marshal Atmore, Thomas Earl, James M. Trueman, Powel Stackhouse, Jacob T. Bunting, and Joseph Evans.

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans. plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

GOSSIPING.

CHARITY AND MERCY GALLANTING WITH FAME!

In one of my late rambles, a short distance up the hill of Parnassus, I observed, on a neighbouring eminence, the sister virtues, Charity and Mercy, at their "frolic play," accompanied by a "stranger youth," with whom they appeared to be highly pleased. One passing by, informed me their paramour was Fame. They were all in a jovial mood, and the following is one of the strains which the lovely dames chaunted while I listened and beheld their sport—I thought they were crazy!

EDWIN.

"The isles of Greece! the isles of Greece!"

Let's o'er the earth and ocean roam,
We've little now to do at home!
It sounds so well, it looks so grand
To give, in some far distant land,
What cash we have, as alms, to spare,
To help the needy sufferers there.

Let's o'er the ear'h and ocean roam,
We've little now to do at home!
True, "sufferers" we have, by scores,
Who daily throng our mansion doors,
Like filthy lazaroni dressed;
Than Roman helots, worse oppressed.

Let's o'er the earth and ocean roam,
We've little now to do at home!
Tho mad Oppression stalks around
On Freedom's "consecrated" ground,
Marking with blood its devious course,
And bearing justice down per force.

Let's o'er the earth and ocean roam,
We've little now to do at home!
Our work begins—no matter where,
If Fame will but the fact declare,
And wide proclaim, from sea to sea,
Our deeds of *liberality*.

Let's o'er the earth and ocean roam,
We've little now to do at home!
Let Negroes suffer, toil and mourn,
The age of *Crusading* return,
With public ills, of every name,
We'll court the flying Gallant, *Fame!*

WAR.

I am indebted to an esteemed friend at Brighton, Massachusetts, for a copy of a pamphlet entitled "*War, a Poem in three parts, by Samuel Webber, M. D.*" It is well written, and we may entertain the hope that it will aid in opening the eyes of many to a sense of justice and mercy, as it is connected with their true interest, and the happiness of the whole family of mankind.

Perhaps it may not be amiss here to observe, that the object of those who support the principle of peace and good will among men, in opposition to wars and fightings, is very nearly assimilated to that pursued by the most decided advocates of Universal Emancipation. Without war, there would be no such thing as *slavery*; for the latter is the legitimate offspring of fraud and violence, and is upheld by terrific ferocity and physical force. The moment that war were laid aside, slavery would begin to disappear, as it is impossible to continue the latter without the aid of the former. All societies professing to act upon either of those benevolent principles, the emancipation of human beings from unmerited thralldom, or the promulgation of the doctrines of universal peace, must take a lively interest in the proceedings, and feel an ardent desire for the success of each other.

The following extracts will give an idea

of the merits of the work before us. Let the reader fancy the scene to be laid on the coast of Africa, and he will have a tolerably correct view of a part of the horrors to which the Slave Trade has given birth,

Where the wild Indian prowled on Erie's shore
Or heard Niagara's falling waters roar;
Where Mississippi rolls his mighty tide,
Father of waters, in majestic pride,
How often have the forest echoes rung
To the wild warwhoop from the warrior's tongue.
In night's still, lonely hour, when sleep had spread
Her popped mantle o'er the white man's head,
Around his cabin burst their horrid cries,
And chased the slumbers of his weary eyes.
Bright o'er his little home, to flames con-signed,
Rolled the fierce blaze upon the midnight wind;
His infant from his cradle sleep awoke
To feel the tomahawk's descending stroke;
His wife sunk bleeding at her husband's side;
The aged grandsire on his hearthstone died;
The sad survivor, forced awhile to bear
The load of life, the anguish of despair,
The utter hopelessness, whose dreadful gloom
Disparted only at the burning tomb,
Was led away —————

* * * * *

Could but the ocean's viewless caves reveal
The secrets their unfathomed depths conceal,
Could but to earth those forms return again,
Whose bones lie heaped beneath the darksome main,
Recount their deeds, their sufferings relate,
How on each bosom fell the shaft of fate;
Fierce though the tempests o'er the ocean rave,
And plunge the seaman in a watery grave,
Though often dashing on the rugged rock
The shattered vessel sinks beneath the shock,
Or through the loosened joinings of her sides
Silent and swiftly flow the fatal tides;
Though dark Infection o'er the waves has hung,
And deadly poison from his pinions flung;
Yet on the ocean, as on land, has man
Still been the deadliest enemy of man,
Hurled o'er the waves the thunders of the fight,
And broke with battle's flash their gloomy night,

In one short hour polluted ocean more
With mangled dead, than these for years
before.

The winds of heaven his ministers are made,
The vengeful fury of his hate to aid;
His white-winged vessels o'er the deep have
flown,
From the parched tropic to the polar zone,
And every sea has trembled, as the blast
Wafting the voice of battle o'er it past.

* * * * *

"O dove-eyed Peace! tho thankless man
has cast

Thy gentle blessings to the stormy blast;
Though, ignorant of bliss, has rudely torn
The olive garland, on thy temples worn;
Though transient all thy visits here have
been,

Far-sundered, like the little isles of green,
That mid Zahara's burning deserts placed
Smile bright and lovely o'er the sandy waste;
Fly not from earth, now thy reviving smile
Has cheered its wasted realms a little
while;

Harmonious send through distant lands thy
voice,

And bid the harassed tribes of man rejoice.
Soon may the time arrive, when wars shall
cease,

And human rancour rest at last in peace;
when the mild doctrines taught by him who
died

An unresisting sacrifice to pride;
When darkened Heaven and rocking earth
confessed

The parting agony that swelled his breast,
Shall rule the wayward spirit, and controul
The fiery passions of the human soul."

THE NEGROES' LAMENT, FOR MUNGO PARK.

Where the wild Joliba
Tells his deep waters,
Sat at their evening toil
Afric's dark daughters,
Where the thick Mangroves
Broad shadows were flinging,
Which o'er their lone loom
Bent mournfully singing

Alas! for the white man, o'er deserts a ranger,
No more shall we welcome the white bosom'd
stranger!

"Through the deep forest
Fierce lions are prowling;
'Mid the thickets entangling
Hyena's are howling;
There should he wander,
Where danger lurks ever,

To his home where the sun sets
Return shall he never.

Alas! for the white man, o'er deserts a ranger,
No more shall we welcome the white bosom'd
stranger!

"The hands of the Moor
In his wrath do they bind him!
Oh! sea! d is his doom,
If the savage Moor find him!
More fierce than Hyenas,
Through darkness advancing,
Is the curse of the Moor,
And his eye's fiery glancing!

Alas! for the white man, o'er deserts a ranger,
No more shall we welcome the white bosom'd
stranger!

"A voice from the desert!
My wilds do not hold him:
Pale thirst doth not rack,
Nor the sand-storm infold him,
The death gale pass'd by,
And his breath fail'd to smother,
Yet ne'er shall he wake
To the voice of his mother!

Alas! for the white man, o'er deserts a ranger,
No more shall we welcome the white bosom'd
stranger!

"O loved of the Lotus
Why waters adorning,
Pour joliba! pour
Thy full streams to the morning!
The Halcyon may fly
To thy wave as her pillow!
But woe to the white man,
Who trusts in thy billow!

Alas! for the white man, o'er deserts a ranger,
No more shall we welcome the white bosom'd
stranger!

"He launch'd his light bark,
Our fond warnings despising,
And sail'd for the land
Where the day-beams are rising,
His wife from her bower,
May look forth in her sorrow,
But he shall ne'er come
To her hope of to-morrow!

Alas! for the white man, o'er deserts a ranger,
No more shall we welcome the white bosom'd
stranger.

TERMS.

The "Genius of Universal Emancipation"
is published monthly, at one dollar per
annum, in advance, for single subscrip-
tions—or ten dollars per dozen copies,
for companies—payable in the CURRENCY of
the State in which the subscriber resides.

Complete files may be had from the
beginning of the work.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 11: VOL. III.

THIRD MONTH, 1824.

WHOLE No. 39.

☞ The resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio (*See page 139*) are exceedingly interesting to the people of the United States; and it is to be hoped that they will not fail to have their due weight with politicians in every section of our country. *Ohio has immortalized her name by this one act;—and if she follows up the proposition with something calculated to give it force and effect, her fame will be unrivalled in the history of North American commonwealths. Never before has so important a legislative recommendation from, one State to another, on the subject of personal slavery, went forth in this Union. More anon.*

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

The election of executive officers is a subject in which the people of the United States must always feel a deep and lively interest. An important influence will ever centre in the cabinet, which cannot fail to extend in every direction, even to the remotest bounds of the Republic. It may, indeed, be traced, by the discriminating eye of observation, through all the ramifications of government; and well may we tremble for the fate of our country, if the people become careless and inattentive to matters so momentous both to themselves and their posterity. Nothing can ever have a more deleterious effect upon the welfare and prosperity of a free state, than ignorance, superstition and inactivity, among its citizens. It may safely be said, that Cæsar had never "passed the Rubicon," as the enemy of Rome, if corruption and listless apathy had not enervated and enfeebled the *vox populi* of that Commonwealth. We must, therefore, consider it as a matter of course, that a great degree of anxiety will be manifested among the people in the different parts of this Union, upon the eve of a *presidential election*. This is one of the most important offices in their gift; and that the person selected to fill it, may have the disposition, and be fully competent, to a faithful discharge of the various duties that will devolve upon him, is certainly a desideratum.—It must, upon every occasion, or whenever it may occur, be with them a question of the greatest magnitude.

In one of my late Numbers, I briefly sta-

ted that it was my intention to throw out a few hints, relative to certain particular qualifications of candidates for the chief magistracy of this Republic; and that I should endeavour to shew to my fellow citizens the impropriety of advancing any person to that exalted station who may be in the least degree favourable to the extension or perpetuation of slavery, in any part of our country. Since then, I have received a letter upon the subject, from a gentleman whom I esteem very highly, as an honest, intelligent, and virtuous man, though I am sorry to say that our opinions widely vary in *this particular case*. My friend did not authorise me to notice his sentiments in a public way, but I cannot for a moment doubt that he will excuse the liberty I have taken, when he reflects on the *public* importance of the question before us—his name shall not be known, as connected with this subject, without his permission.

After making some excellent remarks, of a general nature, he observes as follows—

"Your feelings of *benevolence*, I have no doubt, have caused us to entertain a difference of opinion on the great question, which more than any other, now agitates the feelings, and calls forth the reflection of the people of this nation. But permit me to say, that I do not think slavery has any connexion with this great political subject; so far from it, that a distinction between the interests of slave holding and non-slave holding states should be carefully avoided. I view slavery as an evil, deleterious in its effects; one that has been introduced by the avarice of man as a scourge to this country; but as it was no *new* thing at the institution of our government, and as experience has shown that individual exertions serve more to remove it than public legislation, I am of the opinion that it should not *now* have any thing to do with the politics of our country. To abolish the traffic in slaves, is in the power of the government, which has been effectually done; but even in this, the president could do nothing more than *suggest or recommend*. Being only an executive officer he could not say to any man, unbind the fetters of your oppressed and enslaved fellow, and let him be free. Viewing things, therefore, in this light, I think it

proper to support that man whose elevation would be productive of the greatest good to us as a nation."

I will now give a few of my sentiments on the interesting subject before us, and the objections, above stated, will be answered in the course of my remarks.

The question of the abolition of personal slavery, in America, yields to none in importance. It is intimately connected with the internal policy, the welfare, and even the existence of our republic. There is not a more complete and perfect system of tyranny upon earth, than that which is yet tolerated in some of the states of this Union. It is exercised and upheld by individuals, it is true, but it loses nothing of its odious peculiarity on that account. We cannot form an idea of a better school for training of despots than this affords. Many an infant Marius, Nero, Caligula and Bonaparte are now looking up among us; and nothing will prevent them from acting over, the tragedies in which those celebrated monsters took so conspicuous a part, save the timely interference of the people at large. It is in vain that we hope for honesty among the sons of ambition.—It is in vain that we search for virtue in a tyrant's bosom. We must have such regulations in the several departments of our government as will tend to discourage the undue exercise of authority in any case whatever.—Then, and not till then, may we expect that bounds will be set to the restless and insatiable spirit of usurpation, whose rapid strides are now visible, even to the weakest optics.

The power vested in the President of the United States is very great, and his influence may be considered as co-extensive therewith. True, he can only recommend the adoption of measures which may assume the form, and have the effect of law; but it is his duty thus to call the attention of the legislators of the nation to subjects which he may consider of sufficient importance to act upon; and this circumstance implies a necessity, on their part, to take particular notice of whatever he may suggest. Should he propose the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, to the members of Congress, for instance, they could not reject it without a consideration.—It must be referred to a committee, and that committee must report on it. This would afford the friends of the measure in that body, an opportunity to display their talents in advocating it; and the people would thus be able to ascertain who among them were de-

serving of their confidence. Not so, if the subject were introduced by a member of either house of Congress. It might, in that case, be dismissed, laid on the table, or even kicked under it.* And, further, the president has the appointment of many officers in the various departments of the government; and here he would have it in his power to discourage the practice of slavery in an eminent degree. Instead of placing such in the custom houses, in certain parts of the Union, as connive at the smuggling of slaves into the country from abroad,† he would endeavour to fill those offices with persons who would use their exertions to detect the murderers of human liberty, and bring them to justice. But his influence would not end here. His example would be very powerful. Instead of being surrounded with miserable, ragged, filthy domestics, but one remove from the beasts of the field, his attendants, or his hired servants, would have the appearance of rationality, and would rank with free men. Gentlemen from every section of the country who might visit the seat of government, would profit from the wisdom of wholesome regulations in this respect, and the effect could not fail to be both powerful and salutary. It is not probable that the system of slavery would have been extinguished in our sister republic of Colombia, perhaps for centuries to come, had it not been "recommended" by the President of that government; and it was by the same master spirit, and by the same means, that it was also abolished in Chili. It may safely be asserted that, had a Simon Bolivar presided in the executive branch of our government, twenty years ago, we should not hear the pitiful question asked by our citizens at this time,

* This was the fate of a petition for the abolition of slavery in Tennessee, which was presented to the legislature by a member, a few years since.

† A gentleman who resides near this place, informed me a short time ago, that he took passage in a vessel at New Orleans for Europe in the year 1821; and that off the Balize a large slave ship had several smaller vessels employed in landing its cargo of human plunder. They appeared to entertain very little apprehension of detection by the officers of government stationed in that quarter.—There can be no doubt that the waste of human life by the cowskin, starvation, and exposure of different kinds, in Louisiana, is as regularly supplied by importation as ever it was.

"What shall we do with the SLAVES among us?"—That true patriot and friend of his country first set an example, and then "recommended" the practice of consistent republicanism, & it was attended to. To me it appears that the right, or the duty, of recommending, in this case, implies a necessity, as I have said before, of acting, to a certain extent; and I have shewn that it is to be viewed as highly important in its bearings,—of course, it becomes our duty to place such persons in the chair of state as will be likely to recommend the adoption of measures that may secure the permanence of our republic and the happiness of the people of every class.

The question is not a sectional one. If a person could be found in a slaveholding state who would make a firm stand against the system of individual oppression, he would be as likely to receive the support of the advocates of such a measure as any other; and, indeed, his influence would undoubtedly be greater, as relates to that particular subject, than that of an officer selected from any other quarter. I have no desire that the proposition to abolish the system of slavery shall ever assume a sectional character, unless it come from a section where that system be tolerated: but, on the contrary, I have ever maintained that it is a matter of *national concern*—that the states of this Union, in which it has been abolished, are in duty bound to assist in effecting its extinguishment, as well as the others, seeing it was introduced by the folly or the cupidity of our ancestors, in general—those to the north and the south having equally participated in the nefarious business.

In my view, the subject of Universal Emancipation is a political one, in the most emphatical sense of the word; and as I have heretofore shewn, it is exceedingly important. Why then, shall we not bring it to bear upon the question of an election of chief magistrate, as well as any other? It was thought, some years since, that a candidate for the Presidency favoured the legal supremacy of a certain religious sect. This was sufficient to call forth the exertions of many in opposition to his election.—And I trust that if one of the candidates for that station, at the present day, were suspected of a design to impose the chains of unconditional bondage on any free man, it would operate materially against him in every part of the country. And where is the difference between introducing a system of wrong, and suffering it to exist, when discovered, after it has been introduced by ig-

norant or wicked men?—the two cases appear to me quite analogous; indeed, they are strictly parallel with each other, and equally demand the attention of the public. I do not believe that it is the true *interest* of any individual to uphold the system of slavery—of course, it cannot become the interest of a state to do so. All virtuous men admit that it can be viewed in no other light than as a *curse* upon any nation. It is then a fit subject for the attention of the people in a political collective capacity, and should be operated against in the most effective manner that may be practicable. That it was no new thing at the time our government was formed, does not in the least change its nature. The system of *monarchy* was "no new thing" at that time among us; but it was found to be inconsistent with the welfare of the people (a "curse") and it was abolished. We might have retained that feature in our government, when we set up for ourselves, and still have been as completely independent of the British crown as we are at this moment. But, in that case, the system of oppression would have been *felt by us*; and this was sufficient to awaken us to a sense of its impropriety, impolicy and injustice. (To be continued.)

WEST INDIES.

While the question respecting the Emancipation of Slaves in the West India Islands is under consideration, it may be well to give the reader an idea of their extent and population. The table inserted in page 135 will be found very interesting and well calculated for that purpose. It is compiled from the most authentic sources.

In those islands, it is stated that but a very few of the aboriginal inhabitants are now to be found. In Margaritta there are about 2000—in Trinidad 1200—in St. Vincent 500—and a few more are scattered over the other Carribee Islands.

Some of the numbers may not be exact; but, in the main, they are generally correct.

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

Many anxious enquiries have been made respecting the proceedings of the delegates from the different Abolition or Manumission Societies in the United States, lately convened in Philadelphia, to all of which it has been impossible to give satisfactory answers. It was confidently expected that the minutes would have appeared in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* before this time; but the following extract of a letter from the Secretary of the acting Com-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

mittee, in answer to one recently addressed to him by the editor, will fully explain the cause of the delay in this quarter.

"PHILADELPHIA, FEB. 25, 1824.

Dear Sir—Your favor of the 2d inst. has just been received, and the necessary arrangements are making to forward to your section of the U. States your complement of the minutes of the late Convention. By unexpected circumstances of a peculiar nature, a considerable delay occurred in printing, or you would have received them sooner."

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following is an extract of a letter from an esteemed friend and acquaintance of the editor, at present a member of Congress. His views are unquestionably patriotic, and his hopes most certainly arise from the pure fountain of benevolence: but I am sorry to say that I am constrained to view the subject on which he treats, in a different light, as respects some of its important bearings. Should the *Colonization Society* unite the work of *Emancipation* with their present object of pursuit, I would instantly raise my feeble voice to applaud, and extend both hands to aid them; not that I think it would be absolutely necessary to send the blacks out of the country on account of difficulty in governing them, but that our prejudice might not operate so strongly as a hindrance to the performance of that great work of justice and righteousness, the total extirpation of *Slavery* from the soil of America—from that portion of the Universe which may not inaptly be termed Republican Christendom. *Emancipation* is with me a primary object, and I cannot for a moment think of joining in any of the colonizing schemes that may be invented if they shall not have that end in view. I know full well that many of the active members of the society alluded to, are decidedly in favor of promoting the work of emancipation, in connection with the avowed object of their association; but when I see such men as Henry Clay, John Randolph, Bushrod Washington, and several others that can be viewed in no other light than as rank advocates of slavery, taking a leading and active part in their proceedings, my confidence in the successful issue of benevolent exertion on their part, is lessened in an equal ratio with the influence which those *petit barons* appear to possess. They have ever disclaimed the idea of breaking a single fibre of the cord of slavery; and my friend acknowledges that their sole aim appears to

be the removal from this country of such only as are in the full enjoyment of their freedom. My sympathies are for the afflicted and the weak; not the hale and the strong—for the victims of oppression, of wretchedness and woe; not the free, the prosperous and the happy—"*Miseris succurrere disco.*"

"WASHINGTON, FEB. 23, 1824.

Dear Friend—In pursuance to the enclosed notice,* I attended the meeting of the Colonization Society, and was much entertained with the luminous reports presented by the agents, together with the energetic speeches made by Messrs. Harper, Mercer, Jones and Custis. Nothing definitive was done, but the subjects then discussed were postponed until another meeting which will take place shortly. The charge against the benevolent efforts of that society was promptly repelled—I mean that of the mortality of the Colonists. You know the papers have teemed with statements of the cruelty of transporting the people of color, to become a prey to the diseases incident to that sickly clime. From the report, it appeared that, after the blacks had reached the destined place, not more than eleven had died out of 225—that 26 had died near the place of final settlement, owing to the treachery of a supposed friend, who gave good report of the water, and the salubrity of the air, when in fact they were drinking poison in every draught of water. Judge Washington presided, and the members are numerous and respectable. This is a subject that I have thought greatly upon; but I confess I was more inclined to doubt on the ground of the danger of the Colonists being exterminated by the natives, than the otherwise impracticability of the scheme. This society, I find, aims at nothing more than furnishing means of transporting to the colony the free people of color in the United States, without enquiring into ulterior considerations."

The remarks below, on the same subject are from the *Political Examiner*, a paper published at Frederick, Maryland. They will be read with interest, on account of the locality of the place from whence they come.

"The experiment now making by that society has received little or no attention from others than its own members, and yet it is one in which the whole community is probably more deeply interested than in any

*A printed notification of the time and place of meeting.

other that could be suggested. No one who will for a moment turn his eye to the future condition of this country, can be insensible to the necessity of adopting timely measures to dissipate that *dark* cloud which is rapidly rising, and which may burst with irresistible force on the coming generation. Aside, however, from the consideration of our own danger, the prospect of enlightening the ignorant on the subjects of Christianity and civilization, forms no mean motive to prosecute the undertaking to a successful issue. We are aware that the project of the society has appeared chimerical to many, some of whom, if convinced of the practicability of its becoming the incipient step toward the accomplishment of the grand object, would most readily second the effort. To such and to all we recommend a careful perusal of the reports. We are not so sanguine as to imagine that the object in view can be completely effected by an association of private gentlemen, however respectable, or however zealous they may be. But a partial success will suffice to demonstrate the feasibility of the plan, when government will no doubt take the business in hand.

We understand that the society have not at present sufficient means to transport all those who have volunteered to become colonists; the names of about three thousand persons of this class being now on the books. All that is required to constitute an individual a member of the society is, the payment of one dollar annually—and surely the matter is sufficiently important to induce every man, who regards the future happiness of his country, to dispense so trifling a pittance."

Extract of a letter, lately received by the editor, from a very intelligent gentleman in St. Clair county, Illinois.

"DEAR SIR—Altho' entirely unacquainted with you, personally, yet having some knowledge of your character, I take the liberty of addressing you a few lines, for the purpose of expressing my warmest wishes for your success, in the cause of philanthropy in which you have so most heartily and zealously engaged. When first you commenced your labors in Tennessee (considering the opposition which you met with in Missouri and elsewhere) your undertaking seemed to me like the forlorn hope in a desperate enterprize. But in reading the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," (for which I have lately become a subscriber) and learning something more of the several Manumission Societies that are formed, and

still forming in Tennessee, my fears are considerably obliterated; and I feel encouraged to hope, that under the influence of a just Providence, you will be able to support the best of causes; but as darkness ever stands in opposition to light, and infernal agency at war with celestial, you may still calculate on meeting with opposition. Never did the sons of God come to present themselves before the Lord, but Satan came also; never was there a temple reared in honor to Jehovah, but there was another in opposition, reared to Beelzebub; and never was there a David called from his sheep, in the wilderness, to remove the scandal from the tribes of Israel, but there was a Saul instigated to persecute him. But amidst all the persecutions you may meet with, let this thought console you, that He, in whose cause you have engaged, has the management of the affairs of both heaven and earth; that all authorities and powers are under his most easy control; that he can suspend the laws of nature, for the protection of his chosen, or make the very elements propitious to the advancement of his favorites. No matter what the opposition may be, which you may have to encounter; should it present itself like a towering mountain, God will say to it, thou shalt become a plain, and he shall bring forth the topstone with shouting, crying, grace, grace unto it. The foundation of the fair Temple of Freedom is laid, and although earth and hell may unite their forces, successive hosts of enemies constantly assail, and even millions of foes perish at its walls, yet the work will assuredly progress until it is completed.

A knowledge of the rights of man which has for ages been reposing under the thick covering of ignorance and stupidity, is now disturbed from its long slumber. The *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, clad in awful majesty, is traversing the earth; and as she pursues her heavenly march, still notices, with eyes of commiseration, the habitations of darkness and cruelty, before whose approach the thrones of tyrants tremble, and the seats of despots are affrighted. Without assuming the tone of prophecy, but merely judging of future by past and present events, may we not reasonably suppose that the time is near at hand, when God will say to the light of Emancipation, as he once said to the material light?—and when the Almighty mandate went forth, light, in quick obedience, sprang from its original chaos, and all nature was clad in resplendant glory.

"Notwithstanding all the pains which

have been taken in order to show the curse of slavery, together with its present effects and ultimate consequences, yet our Legislature, at its last session, madly infatuated by false views, ordered a vote to be taken at our next election for or against a Convention, with no other view (as I believe) than that of introducing unconditional slavery among us; in consequence of which, our state is at present much agitated. The storm, however, I am inclined to think will blow over without doing much injury. From the most correct information that can be obtained, it is generally believed that the non-conventionists will have a respectable majority, although the printing establishments are mostly unfavourable to our cause. The editor of the *Edwardsville Spectator* is with us, both in principle and in practice, (not as an hireling, who will flee when the wolf makes its appearance) whose uniformity of conduct, relative to the cause of humanity, both previous and subsequent to the late memorable Vandalia Session, has given him an important standing, and also procured him a large share of public patronage; and as the *Spectator* is the only certain vehicle in our State through which the true light of republicanism can be spread, means are devising in order to give it a more extensive circulation.*

The writer of the foregoing has forwarded to me a copy of the first address from the *"Friends of Humanity,"* a very respectable society in Illinois, which is fast increas-

*This is a very just tribute to the patriotism of the editor of the *Spectator*—but since the foregoing was written, a prospectus for a new paper, to be published at Belleville, Illinois, has made its appearance. The proposed editors are "Forquer and Ford." The latter is a printer by profession, and the former I suppose to be George Forquer, Esq. of Monroe county in that state, a young man of fine talents, and a zealous opponent of Slavery. They declare themselves in opposition to a convention.—Success attend them.

It is a matter of great importance at this juncture to circulate as many publications in Illinois, which are calculated to throw light on the subject of slavery, as possible; but the advocates of a convention strive to suppress every thing of the kind. Since the agitation of this question I have not been able to effect an exchange with a single printer in that state except the editor of the *"Spectator,"* though I met with no difficulty in it before.

ing in numbers and influence, and is destined to hold an important station among the benevolent institutions of our country. This address shall appear in the next Number of this paper. It is postponed at this time merely for the want of a little more room.

Another gentleman in Madison county, Illinois, lately wrote as follows:—

"I think that if the question of slavery were now put, there would be a majority against it; and I hope there are enough of well disposed men in our state, to ultimately decide against its introduction. I am led to this opinion, as I cannot resist the belief that the people have too much good sense to commit so suicidal a deed, when they can avoid it by writing *"no convention"* on their tickets, at the next general election."

From the Edwardsville (Illinois) Spectator.

The progress of population, improvement and wealth, in the northern parts of this state, cannot fail to afford interest to every one who rejoices in the prosperity of his country.

The counties of Greene, Morgan and Sangamo, lying east of the Illinois river, were in an entire state of nature four years since, and in many parts inhabited by the "red men of the woods." Now, the prairies are covered with cultivated fields, and swarming with flocks and herds. In the county of Morgan, embracing the beautiful and rich districts of Diamond Grove, Mauvais Terre, and Indian Creek, where not a section of land has yet been sold, now presents the delightful prospect of populous, respectable settlements. The value of *personal* property alone in that county, from the assessor's books, amounts to \$52,565; that of lands owned by the residents of the county, but lying without, \$21,520. The number of taxed persons, 325. The number of qualified voters, 400, and the supposed number of inhabitants from the foregoing data may be 2000. A literary and debating society has been formed at Diamond Grove. The "Morgianian Society" for the prevention of slavery, was organized the 4th of July. A Sunday school exists in the settlement on Indian Creek, where three years since the Indian lived and roamed unmolested.

In the population of the county there is but *one slave*, and it has been asserted by many who know the sentiments of the people, that there are only *eight* persons who favor the measures for the introduction of more.

*Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.***TABLE,**

Shewing the numbers of Square Miles, and of the Inhabitants in each Class, of all the important Islands in the West Indies, and, also, the Powers to which they, respectively belong.

<i>Islands.</i>	<i>Square Miles.</i>	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Mulattoes and blacks.</i>	<i>Total population.</i>	<i>To whom belonging.</i>
Cuba	54,000	234,000	198,000	432,000	Spain
Hispaniola	30,000	30,000	500,000	530,000	Independent
Jamaica	6,400	30,000	330,000	360,000	Britain
Porto Rico	4,140	80,000	20,000	100,000	Spain
The Bahamas	5,500	3,923	11,396	14,318	Britain
St. Thomas	40	550	4,500	5,050	Denmark
St. John	40	180	2,250	2,430	Do.
Santa Cruz	100	2,223	29,164	31,387	Do.
Tortola	90		10,000	10,000	Britain
Virgin Gorda	80	1,500	6,500	8,000	Do.
Anguilla	30		800	800	Do.
St. Martin	90		6,100	6,100	Netherlands
St. Bartholomew	60	4,000	4,000	8,000	Sweden
Saba	10		1,600	1,600	Netherlands
Barbuda	90		1,500	1,500	Britain
St. Eustatius	22	5,000	15,000	20,000	Netherlands
St. Christopher	70	4,000	21,000	25,000	Britain
Nevis	20	1,000	10,000	11,000	Do.
Antigua	93	2,102	33,637	35,739	Do.
Montserrat	78	1,000	9,750	10,750	Do.
Gaudaloupe	675	12,747	102,092	114,839	France
Deseada	25	300	600	900	Do.
Mariegalante	90	1,938	10,347	12,385	Do.
Dominica	29	1,594	24,905	26,499	Britain
Martinico	370	9,206	87,207	96,413	France
St. Lucia	225	1,290	15,350	16,640	Britain
St. Vincent	131	1,450	22,500	24,000	Part to Brit. part Independ.
Barbadoes	166	16,289	65,650	81,939	Britain
Grenada	109	771	30,591	31,362	Do
Tobago	10	900	15,583	16,483	Do
Trinidad	1,700	2,261	24,984	28,477	Do
Margaritta	354	5,500	6,500	14,000	Barbados
Curracoa	600	1,200	7,300	8,500	Netherlands
	105,000	450,000	1,600,000	2,050,000	

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MONARCHY REPUBLICUS.

(Continued from page 121, vol. 3.)

FOURTH DAY.

Mon. After losing more than half a night's sleep in arranging arguments, I have ventured out this morning in hopes of better success than I have hitherto had.

Rep. I thought from your countenance, that you were a little flushed. Come let us hear what you have to say.

Mon. I do not recollect that Christ has any where forbidden slavery in the new Testament.

Rep. Neither do I recollect that he has, in so many express words, forbidden

murder, theft, adultery, or drunkenness,—would you plead for the legality of these crimes, on that account?

Mon. But if slavery is as great a sin as you Manumissionists represent it to be, and was practised at the time of his incarnation, why did he not expressly name it out, and pointedly forbid it?

Rep. I shall answer this formidable objection by asking the following question: if the above catalogue of crimes which I have enumerated, were in operation at the same time, why did he not also point them out and forbid them? But for your comfort and edification, I can inform you that he has sufficiently forbidden both the one, and the other, with

out specifically naming either of them, in the law of love; and doing to others as we would that others should do to us, which, if universally obeyed, would exterminate every species of slavery, with every other moral evil from the inhabited globe.

Mon. Cannot a man love his neighbour as himself, and yet keep him a slave?

Rep. He cannot; unless a man can love his neighbour as himself, and yet deprive him of one of the best Jewels that ever heaven bestowed on a human being, and without which, life itself, is but a scene of misery and wretchedness.

Mon. But if I use him well, and give him a sufficiency of food and raiment, would not that be coming up to the standard?

Rep. It is impossible that you are using a man well, while you are in the daily act of robbing him of his time and all his earnings; and as to your giving him a sufficiency of food and raiment—I beg your pardon!—It is he that gives you the dainty food and splendid raiment you monopolize, after or rather before allowing him the offals of your table, and your old worn out clothes, which he had paid for more than fifty fold their value.

Mon. If I did not make him a slave, but found him such when I bought him—how then?

Rep. He that buys, or receives stolen goods, knowing them to be such, makes himself a party with the thief. You know that the African slaves are contraband property in the eye of justice—or you would know it if you and your families were placed in their condition, and while you keep them in slavery, you justify the act of bringing them into American bondage, with all the murders, cruelties, frauds, and miseries, with which it was attended.

Mon. But what is a man to do in such a case? must he lose his money which he had laid out in their purchase?

Rep. He had better lose his money, than to lose his soul; and this might be a lesson to him not to lay it out in the purchase of stolen property any more. And as to what he is to do in such a case—is an honest man, it is his duty to go to the legal proprietor, and to make him all possible restitution for his past privations—which, according to the old Jewish law, of which you seem to be so fond, would be to restore him *fourfold*.

Mon. It would be extremely hard to lose ones money and slave too, and afterwards have to pay him for his lost time.

Rep. But you should pay some attention to the *hardness* on the side of your neighbor—it could not be a harder case for you to lose your purchase money, with a little more in payment for *his* lost time and personal abuses, than it would be for him to lose his heaven bestowed freedom, with all the money and property he might have procured by a whole life's industry—living, in poverty and degradation, that you might wallow in wealth and luxury; especially when we add to this amount, that he was compelled to serve, and yours was a voluntary act. And, until the rights of man are restored to those from whom they have been violently wrested, that violated principle of freedom which was stamped on every stamina of the human soul, by the Almighty Creator, cries to heaven for vengeance, and if restoration is not made in mercy, it will be dreadfully required by the strong arm of vindictive justice.

Mon. If I was a slave, I should like to be well fed, and well clothed, and not to be worked too hard, and if I use mine so, do I not fulfil the golden rule of doing as I would be done by?

Rep. Slaves are seldom allowed to be their own judges in the articles of food, clothing and labor—the masters and mistresses claim the honor of that;—hence, a peck of corn a week, or a scanty pittance of sweet potatoes in place of it, with a few old black rags of the coarsest kind, by no means sufficient to hide their nakedness, has been decided by some such judges, to be feeding well, and clothing well; and as to work, if their slaves were to do all that was in their power, and if possible, ten times more, their insatiable task masters would be ever complaining that they had not done half enough. But it is true, that all slave-holders are not thus rigorous; and yet those who use their slaves the best, would not be willing to change diet, clothing, and lodging with them, much less, stations of life. But in further reply to your query, let me ask the following question: If I steal my neighbor's horse, or buy him, knowing him to be stolen property, and shall forcibly detain him from my neighbor, knowing at the same time that he is his, will my feeding that horse well, and not working him too hard, be a sufficient atone-

ment for the theft, or for my forcibly withholding such stolen property from the legal proprietor?

Mon. Certainly not—the law would punish such an offender.

Rep. Then what have we to do with second hand propositions in slavery, more than in common theft?—let us come to first principles, for by these we shall be judged in a coming day, and inquire: would you be willing to be a slave, as your negroes are, and to continue in that situation all your days, and your children after you to endless generations?

Mon. No verily, I should not—that principle of *freedom* in man, of which you have spoken, would struggle for its right.

Rep. Then, if you please, we will transpose the golden rule, and it will read thus: “whatsoever you *would not* that men should do to you, that *do ye not* unto them.” So you see that a man who would not be willing to be a slave himself, violates the golden rule if he keeps another in bondage, turn the rule which ever way you will.

Mon. I had never considered these things so closely before; but if it be as you say, how is it that so many of the greatest, and most popular professors of religion in our country, are slave holders?

Rep. For the same reason, I suppose, that there are corrupt, and unjust men, in other respects, that are professors of religion.

Mon. But you will not say that those great slaveholding professors, have no religion, I presume?

Rep. They have not that kind of religion, I apprehend, that is wrought in the human soul by the operation of the Holy Ghost; but have imposed upon themselves by aiming to serve God and Mammon at one and the same time, and thus adopting something in the place of religion, which is not religion, nor will be of any avail to its possessor in a trying hour; for a religion that does not save its professor from pride, covetousness, and the crime of oppressing his own species, is worse than none at all.

Mon. But I have seen some of the professors, which I have been alluding to, in such raptures of joy and, as they said, were so wrapt in the dying love of Jesus, that they seemed just ready to fly away to heaven in an instant.

Rep. On the *cobweb wings* of their own heated imaginations, I suppose; for while

they were living on the gain of oppression, and holding their brethren in bondage, they could have no scriptural grounds for their ecstasies, or foundation on which to build their triumphant exultations;—and had you followed them home from their “sanctuaries of devotion,” you might probably have seen some of their slaves as completely “*wrapt*” with the cowskin whip, by their sanctified masters or mistresses, for some trifling or imaginary fault, as they themselves had professed but a few hours before to have been “*wrapt*” in the love of the Redeemer.

Mon. There are many of our greatest preachers, of different denominations, that hold slaves; and if those who are set up as patterns for us to imitate, justify the practice, by living in it, surely others may follow their example without fear of danger, seeing they are our *approved* oracles and guides to heaven; nor would it be charitable to say that such men have no religion.

Rep. It is a lamentable truth, that many slaveholders have assumed the prerogative of preachers of the gospel and guides to eternal happiness; and also that many others have taken upon themselves the sacred office of the ministry from avaricious and corrupt motives, by which “the way of truth has been evil spoken of,” and rejected; and in place of “*doing justly, loving mercy and walking humbly with God*,” which is the whole duty of man, catechisms, creeds and rounds of ceremonies and church formalities have been adopted.

I not long since heard a gentleman of respectability observe, in conversation, that the devil had never invented a greater imposition on religion, than the persuading a slaveholder to become a preacher had been; and I perfectly agree with the sentiment, and conclude, that from the success his infernal Majesty has had with slaveholders, in the instance of preaching, he need not despair of prevailing with any other class of characters, however immoral, to assume the clerical office.

Mon. I hope you do not mean to class slave holders with thieves and highwaymen, for such belong to the most immoral classes!

Rep. It is certainly a less crime to rob a man of his money, or to steal all his property, and then leave him at his liberty, to acquire more, than it is to rob him of his *liberty*, and consequently, of all chance of acquiring either money or property for himself, as long as he lives.

“By whom *“approved?”*—*Ed.*

Mon. But perhaps they did not bring them into slavery—they being slaves when they came into their hands.

Rep. If they had sense enough to be preachers, they certainly had information sufficient to know that such slaves had been robbed of their freedom by others, and so made themselves parties in the theft by withholding from their robbed brethren their unalienable right, which they knew had been unjustly wrested from them. But those that were born in their kitchens, who, according to the laws of God and nature, were born free, these preaching wolves in sheep's clothing, have robbed of their freedom, and reduced them to unconditional bondage, as soon as they were able for service, and converted them into saleable property, in common with their cattle and hogs.

Mon. I cannot conceive how men could preach so fluently as some of them do, and bring other people to the profession of religion too, if they had none themselves.

Rep. The Apostle says that Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light, and therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness. And as like begets its like, it is probable, that their proselytes are as much the children of hell as themselves.

(To be continued.)

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 126.)

Were the providence and justice of God to work things round, that a reverse of circumstances should take place, would slave holders submit to the same treatment they give to their slaves, or would not the feelings of resentment be kindled in every breast, even to madness? It is undeniable, that a great number of them make a high profession of religion, and give a great deal of money too to support foreign missions, of which they seem particularly fond, that the heathens may be converted to Christianity. But mark ye the inconsistency of their conduct while they are so zealous for the conversion of foreign heathen nations, and sometimes contributing large donations for that purpose, all out of the sole earnings of the slaves; is it not surprising, that these charitable souls do not once turn their attention to the heathen in their own yards and kitchens, who are, perhaps, in a much more deplorable situation than those to whom they are sending

missionaries! Some of the most devout of them are frequently heard to pray for gospel light to be disseminated among the heathen nations; yet they have but seldom if ever been heard to put up one petition for the conversion of those heathens whose dwelling is on their own land. O tell it not to the Bramins, publish it not in Hindostan, lest idolators rejoice and glory in our shame. Does such conduct look like consistency? I trow not—their hearts are not right in the sight of God! Can such characters turn their eyes within to their own hearts and say, "Lord thou knowest we love thee"? Or can they use the language of the Prophet Jeremiah, "but thou O Lord knowest me, thou hast seen me, and tried mine heart toward thee." I say, can slaveholding professors use such language as this, without feeling conviction's keenest smart? I think their language should be something like that of Ahab to Elijah,—"hast thou found me O mine enemy?"

Let us bear in mind that the ways of man are before the eyes of the Lord, and that he watcheth all his goings. God hath said by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah, "learn to do well, seek judgement, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." Slavery is undoubtedly contrary to every principle of virtue, justice, and humanity,—or even to the principles of heathen honesty!—it is an inhabitant of darkness, although it dwells in an enlightened republic; but its advocates do not wish to stand in the light; neither do they wish the enormity of the crime brought to light, lest their deeds should be made manifest, and be reproved. Slavery, or slave holding, is a species of wickedness that observation teaches me to believe has a tendency more completely to harden the heart, to divest the mind of all good desires, than any other evil that I know to exist in the moral world. Truly it may be said to be one of the greatest evils that ever escaped from the box of Pandora, because it immerses its subjects in the deepest misery, degradation, and woe. It binds burdens on mens shoulders almost too intolerable to be borne.

We as a nation of people, have incurred the just displeasure of the Almighty by tolerating slavery in this otherwise happy country, and we may reasonably suppose, that there is an awful storm of divine wrath, now lowering over the nation; and in order to remedy this great evil,

we must act uprightly, speak uprightly, and walk uprightly; we must despise the gain of oppression, and shake our hands from holding of bribes; we must loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens; let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke; that we may dwell on high, and that our place of defence may be the munition of rocks. Job saith, this is the portion of a wicked man with God, and the heritage of oppressors which they shall receive of the Almighty if their children be multiplied, it is for the sword, and his offspring, shall not be satisfied with bread.

There is a class of people in our country that are vastly numerous, who acknowledge slaveholding to be a great evil—a national curse, and contrary to the laws of God and man; yet they are not willing to apply the weight of one of their fingers to expel this evil, and banish it from our land. Mark the tree by the fruit,—the actions of men commonly speak louder than their words; but when I hear a man say, the slaves ought to be emancipated, and still not move a hand to help, I believe his actions, and not his words, but an objector says, I am but an individual, and I, as an individual, can do nothing. I would answer, the nation is composed of individuals, and that there is no individual in existence, but what has some influence over some one or another of the human family; and that by or through the instrumentality of individual exertion, this great object can, and may be accomplished. It cannot be possible that there are any in this enlightened age, possessing the genuine spirit of Christianity, who have ever taken the subject into consideration, that did not at once see the impropriety of the system. How then can it be possible for men, having pure and genuine religion, to set neutral, and unconcerned, while there is so much to be done? The saviour of the world, while he was in the flesh, made it his constant employ to go about doing good. So we may readily infer, that all his true followers will imitate his example so far as to do good at all opportunities. There is now a loud and mighty call for the united exertions of christians of every sect to be put in operation; for like unto the voice of the blood of righteous Abel; the cries, groanings, and calamities of the distressed, have reached to the heavens; therefore let christians of all sects unite, and lend a hand in pulling down the strong holds of self interest, superstition and folly, and in

erecting the peaceable kingdom of our Lord in the place thereof.

And if there are any, professing goodness, that will not bear a part, it becomes them to prove that relieving the oppressed is not a righteous act, or else renounce their profession of christianity, that they may not become stumbling blocks for others to fall over and descend to the pit of perdition. I shall conclude by seriously asking slave holders and oppressors generally, how they expect to escape the righteous judgement of that God, who cannot behold iniquity with the best allowance? and, would also entreat them to consider their ways, before they are punished here, by being given up to a reprobate mind, and he reafter, by being cast into utter darkness,—before they are overtaken by the awful hour of death, and dreadful day of judgement, and practically learn, that to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God, is one of the surest ways of securing a permanent and lasting happiness.

JUVENILE PHILANTHROPIST.

Approved by the Inspecting Committee of the Manumission Society, August 19th 1823.

Stephen Brooks *Chm.* T. Doan *Clk.*

IMPORTANT PROPOSITION.

The following resolutions have been passed by the legislature of this state. From the sound policy of the measure recommended, on a subject of such vital importance to the government, they cannot fail, we think, to meet the approbation and furtherance of every friend to his country, as well as to humanity in general. It is proper to observe that, the preamble was stricken out. The resolutions only were passed.

Ohio Interior Gazette.

RESOLUTIONS.

PROPOSING THE ENTIRE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.

Whereas, the curse of slavery, which now degrades the character of our country, and which has been entailed upon us by the unwise and inhuman policy of the early planters of these then *British Colonies*, is gradually spreading its evils over the face of our country, menacing jeopardy to our happy institutions, and threatening at some future day, and that day not far distant, to involve in one common ruin the non-slaveholding with the slaveholding part of the community unless those evils are averted by timely

and efficient means: It becomes us, therefore, as a christian people, enjoying greater political civil and religious blessings than any other nation ever did, to impart a portion of those blessings to our fellow beings of whatever country, clime or color; and while we manifest to the world our benevolent and charitable feelings in the cause of the *Greeks*, the glorious triumphs of our brothers of *South America*, the struggles of the oppressed *Spaniards*, and the laudable exertions of the devoted patriots of all nations for *freedom and self government*, we ought not to disregard the complaints of the sons and daughters of *Africa*, who in violation of every principle of justice and humanity, attended with circumstances often of the most atrocious wickedness and cruelty, have been forced from their friends, their homes and native country, to suffer with their posterity, interminable and ignominious bondage in a foreign land, beneath a system of laws, which, if ever expedient, can be considered no longer so. And although we do not admit that any man can have a right of property in the person of his fellow man, or that the condition of the parent can doom the offspring to perpetual bondage, any more than this generation can chain the next in political slavery:— yet be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the consideration of a system providing for the gradual emancipation of the people of colour held in servitude in the United States, be recommended to the Legislatures of the several states of the American Union, and to the Congress of the United States.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this General Assembly, a system of foreign colonization, with correspondent measures, be adopted, that would in due time, effect the entire emancipation of the slaves in our country, without any violation of the national compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals, by the passage of a law by the general government, (with the consent of the slave-holding states) which should provide, that all children of persons now held in slavery, born after the passage of such law, should be free at the age of twenty-one years, being supported during their minority by the persons claiming the service of their parents,) providing they then consent to go to the intended place of colonization:—also,

Resolved, That it is expedient that such a system should be predicated upon

the principle, that the evil of slavery is a national one; and that the people and the states of this union ought mutually to participate in the duties and burthens of removing it.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, be requested to forward a copy of the foregoing preamble & resolutions to his Excellency the Governor of each of the United States, requesting him to lay the same before the legislature thereof; and that his excellency will also forward a like copy to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, requesting their co-operation in all national measures having a tendency to effect the grand objects embraced therein.

From the Hillsborough Recorder.

AGRICULTURAL INQUIRY.

The profits of slave-holders—what per cent—subject to what drawback—disadvantages of debt—increase of negroes:

The planters, or slaveholders, in North Carolina, are generally engaged, in agriculture to a very considerable extent; and their profits are in proportion to the quality of their land, the number of hands employed, their industry and skilful management. To form an estimate of the proportion, which these profits commonly bear to the capital employed, we shall give a statement in detail, which, we trust, will be found sufficiently correct for general purposes.

A man, in possession of a tobacco plantation of six hundred and forty acres, worth six dollars per acre, and twenty-five slaves of different ages and descriptions, with sufficient stock, provisions and utensils to carry on his business, is thought to be in comfortable if not independent circumstances. The amount of this capital might be estimated nearly as follows:

Land at	\$3840
25 negroes, average value \$200	5000
4 horses at 50, 15 head of cattle at 8,	
25 hogs at 1,	345
58 barrels corn for bread, 30 for horses, 12 for hogs,	200
2500 cwt. of pork at 5, one cart at 30,	
1 pair oxen at 40,	145
2 sacks salt at 5, 120 lbs. iron at 61-4	
cts steel of different kinds 3 50,	21
Weeding and hilling hoes, 10 of each,	
at 1, 10 axes at 1, plows 15,	45
Mattocks, wedges, hames, collars traces and utensils for cooking, say	29

Total, 9625

This amount of agricultural capital would seem, at first view, to promise a considerable income; and we may, perhaps regret that experience and calculation should furnish a different result.

Out of twenty-five negroes, such as are generally found on a plantation, we cannot expect a force equal to more than seven good crop hands, besides a cook and nurses for children. It will be called good cropping for these hands to make, upon an average, seven thousand weight of tobacco for market, besides a sufficiency of corn, meat and the like, for use. Estimating this tobacco at five dollars per hundred weight, it will amount to the sum of three hundred and fifty dollars, but out of this sum we must deduct the expenses incurred and necessities to be laid in for another year, which upon an average will be nearly as follows:

Shop account 20, taxes 10,	\$30
2 sacks salt at 5, iron and steel 10, 5 hats at 1,	25
5 blankets at 1:50, 10 pair of shoes at 175, 50 yds. coarse woollen at 50 cts.	40
Total,	95

This would reduce his nett income to two hundred and fifty five dollars a year, which is about two and a half per cent, upon the capital employed. But this estimate is founded upon the supposition that the owner is overseer himself, and no allowance is made for keeping up repairs, nor for doctor's bills and necessities in case of sickness, which in a family of this size will always be considerable. After paying off these demands, the remainder constitutes his only fund to defray his personal expenses, supply the numerous wants of a family, and to lay out in the improvement of his land. It is easy to see, that the two former will be badly supplied without contracting debts, and his prudence or fears will induce him to neglect the latter. Of all persons who contract debts with an intent of ever paying them those who depend upon the profits of an agricultural capital, perhaps, labor under the greatest disadvantage: For the interest they have to pay is always six per cent, and the profits they receive are at best, trifling, and subjects to a host of casualties, which cannot be foreseen by prudence, nor guarded against by caution. The interest, therefore, on a small sum will often eat up the profits of a comparatively large capital. But it is often said, and we think too often believed, that the increase of negroes is the plant-

ers greatest source of profit. How this might be, should he raise negroes purposely for sale, and sell them when young, to the best advantage, is a subject which no persons of humanity would willingly discuss, and much less recommend; but admitting that he raises them for his own use, and looks upon their increase, as an increase of profit, we doubt very much, whether he be not mistaken. The services of a negro woman, while having children, can scarcely be worth her food and clothing; and every child when born, is a dead expense for at least ten years; and at the end of this time, we may consider him as having contracted a debt, which his services will not repay in ten years more. But much depends upon the health and sex of the person, for the owner at any rate must advance his support if well, and be chargeable for his expenses in sickness, and loose his debt if he dies; but if the person be a female, the probability is, that before the last ten years have expired, she will only be able to pay by increasing the same kind of expense. This seems like giving a long credit upon too frail and uncertain security.

It will be seen, by reference to the above statement, that out of twenty-five negroes, hoes, axes, &c. are furnished for only ten, and these ten exclusive of a cook, are estimated as equal to only seven good crop hands who continually work out, and in the articles of clothing, it will be likewise seen, that those who cannot work out at all times, save a considerable expense by manufacturing a full supply of all kinds of cotton clothing. But notwithstanding every one is thus beneficially employed, the profits are very small, even if we admit them sufficient to support the proprietor and keep up repairs, still they will not permit of his being at any expense in the improvement of his land. Of course these profits, small as they are, must decrease as it becomes exhausted. An increase of young negroes under these circumstances, must add to his poverty, and drive him the sooner to the distressing alternative of selling his land, with a view of trying his fortune in another country, or what is still worse, of becoming a raiser of negroes for sale.

Should much fault be found with this statement, we hope some person of more information and experience will give one nearer the truth; but such as it is, we submit it to the animadversion of men of candor, who are practically engaged in

Plat Justitia Plat Carum.

agriculture, and who keep a regular account of their income and expenses.

LILLINGTON.

From the Harpers Ferry Free Press.

FREE BLACKS IN VIRGINIA.

On the 26th December, 1823, an ineffectual attempt was made in the house of delegates, to obtain permission for a number of blacks, who had been emancipated by the will of their masters, and obtained, by the same means, a considerable quantity of land, to remain in the state. Mr. Blackburn made the following observations:—

"Where, sir, I ask, are these people to go, after you have driven them from the state? Other states around us are passing laws, and erecting barriers to prevent their entrance. Where, I ask again, are they to go, unless the gentleman has provided some sort of purgatory, in which they may be placed.—Sir, they are human beings; at least I trust we proved as much on a late occasion. They came from the hands, and are the formation, of that God, who is "no respecter of persons." The God who made them knows no difference between us and them, though there be some difference between the colour of their skin and ours.—

But, sir, I really cannot talk on this subject. The law and policy of the legislature of 1806 are quoted. I detest your policy—I detest your law—I detest the whole plan and measures adopted from it. The very reason, of all others the most extraordinary, is urged to expatriate these poor creatures—because they have property. You would send them and their money from the state—whereas, if you suffer them to remain, they will pay their taxes as well as you, and add wealth to the community."

A KIDNAPPER PUNISHED.

The Delaware Gazette states that the notorious Jos. Johnson, who was so long concerned in kidnapping negroes, and conveying them out of the state, was tried and convicted at the last session of the court of common pleas, for the county of Sussex, & sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back at the public whipping post, to stand in the pillory for an hour, to have his ears nailed thereto, and the soft part cut off.

Northern Paper.

[Nothing can justify this barbarous mode of punishment. It borders too much on the sanguinary—it overshoots the mark—and instead of reforming, it tends to harden the heart. Tho the creature richly deserved an exemplary punishment, yet, something of

a very different nature from that which he received, would have answered a better purpose, view the subject in whatever light we may.—*Ed. G. U. Emancipation.*]

WESTERN ABOLITION SOCIETY.

In pursuance of notice given in the papers of this borough, a meeting was held at the court-house, on the evening of *Monday the 26th of January*, for the purpose of forming a society for the abolition of slavery and for endeavouring to meliorate the condition of the African race. An able and appropriate address was delivered by the Rev. A. Wylie, exhibiting the objects proposed by the formation of the contemplated society. The draft of a constitution was then produced and read, for the consideration of persons disposed to connect themselves with the institution. The names of upwards of fifty individuals were then enrolled as members of the society, and the meeting was organized by calling the Rev. OBADIAH JENNINGS to the chair, and appointing the Rev. J. GRAHAM secretary.

On motion, the constitution was read by articles, and, after some amendment, was adopted, and is as follows viz.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

WESTERN ABOLITION SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I.—TITLE.

The name and title of this association, shall be, *The Western Abolition Society.*

ARTICLE II.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1st. The officers of the society, shall be, a *President*, *Vice-President*, a *Secretary*, a *Treasurer*, and a *Standing committee*.

SECT. 2nd. The officers shall be elected annually by ballot, on the 1st day of the *Spring Term*, of the *Court of Common Pleas*, by a majority of the members present, and shall serve for one year, and until others are elected; except the members of the standing committee, the whole of which shall be chosen at the first election, and one-third at each annual election thereafter, as hereinafter, provided.

ARTICLE III.—PRESIDENT.

SECT. 1st. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all regular meetings; to preserve order; and, at the request of the standing committee, he shall call special meeting; he shall also appoint such committees as are not herein-after provided for; and do all other business appertaining to his office.

SECT. 2nd. The President shall be entitled to a vote on all questions, besides a casting vote in case the Society be equally divided.

ARTICLE IV.—VICE-PRESIDENT.

SECT. 1st. All the powers and duties of the President shall devolve upon the Vice-President, when the president is absent, sick, or otherwise unable to attend to them.

SECT. 2nd. When the President and the Vice-President shall both be absent, the Society shall elect a President pro tempore.

ARTICLE V.—SECRETARY.

SECT. 1st. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep correct minutes of the proceedings of society, and at each meeting to read the minutes of the preceding one.

SECT. 2nd. He shall carefully preserve all documents belonging to the society, filed and arranged in a methodical manner.

ARTICLE VI.—TREASURER.

SECT. 1st. The Treasurer shall collect all monies due the society, and shall render a correct and systematic statement of his accounts at each annual meeting for the election of officers.

SECT. 2nd. When any member shall refuse to pay his dues, the Treasurers shall report him to the standing committee.

SECT. 3rd. He shall pay over no monies, except to an order signed by the chairman of the standing committee.

ARTICLE VII.—STANDING COMMITTEE.

SECT. 1st. The standing committee shall consist of nine persons, who shall have power to elect their own officers, and make their own rules and bye-laws.

SECT. 2nd. The members of the standing committee, at their first meeting after their election, shall be divided into three classes: the time of service of the first class, shall expire at the end of the first year; that of the second class, at the end of the second year; and that of the third class, at the end of the third year: so that in future, one third of their number may be chosen each year.

SECT. 3rd. All applications for membership shall be made to the Secretary.

SECT. 4th. A majority of the standing committee shall have power to expel any member for misconduct; an appeal to the society from their decision shall however be allowed.

SECT. 5th. They shall have the sole disposal of the funds of the society. All

orders on the Treasurer shall be signed by their Chairman.

SECT. 7th. They shall have power to appoint an acting committee, to consist of any number of persons they may deem necessary, who shall serve any period of time, not exceeding, however, one year, unless re-appointed: and shall not act contrary to the instructions of the standing committee.

SECT. 8th. They shall have power to transact all other business incidental to their office, which they may deem essential to the welfare of the society and calculated to promote the objects for which it is instituted.

SECT. 9th. The standing Committee shall have power to fill up any vacancy that may occur in its own body, by death, resignation, or otherwise.

ARTICLE VIII.—MEMBERS.

SECT. 1st. Each member shall pay in to the hands of the Treasurer, or his authorized deputy, the sum of twenty-five cents annually.

SECT. 2nd. A refusal to pay the yearly contribution, on the demand of the Treasurer, or his deputy, shall constitute sufficient ground for the expulsion of any member.

SECT. 3rd. A refusal to serve on any committee, shall also constitute sufficient ground for expulsion, unless a reasonable excuse be assigned.

ARTICLE IX.—MEETINGS.

The stated meetings of this society shall be held at the borough of Washington, Pa. the first day of the spring term of the Court of Common pleas, at which time the several officers shall make report of the situation of the society.

ARTICLE X.—BYE-LAWS.

The society shall have power to adopt such bye-laws as may be deemed necessary; they being, however, not contrary to the tenor of this constitution.

ARTICLE XI.—AMENDMENTS.

No article of this constitution shall be altered, or amended, unless at the stated meeting of the society; two thirds of the members present agreeing to the amendment.

FINIS.

On motion, *Resolved*, That for the present, the Secretary of this meeting be authorized to receive the subscription of any member who may wish now to advance it.

Resolved, That the constitution, together with the proceedings of this meet-

fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

ing, be published in the papers of this village.

Resolved, That fifty additional copies of the constitution be struck off at the same time, to be distributed for the purpose of obtaining signatures.

Resolved, That the Rev. A. Wylie be requested to furnish a copy of his address this evening, that it may also be published.

Resolved, That when the society adjourns, it adjourn to the time and place fixed upon for the annual meeting, when the officers are to be chosen, and the society organized.

Resolved, That the present Secretary be directed to give notice of that meeting, for three weeks previously, in the public papers of this town.

Resolved That Messrs. *Freeman Brady, James Burgin, John Vance, John M. Coy, William Lindley, William M. Garr, John Clever, Samuel England, Walter Maxwell, Andrew Sutton, Thomas M'Keever, Thomas M. Call, Dr. Jonathan Leatherman, John Reed, Ephraim Estep, Joseph Kerr, and Joseph Stevenson*, be a committee to receive copies of the Constitution, and obtain signatures.

The Society then adjourned.

Signed.

OBADIAH JENNINGS,

Chairman.

Attest:—

JOHN GRAHAM, Sec'y.

"YOUNG NEGROES FOR SALE."

Such is the heading of an advertisement in the Norfolk Beacon; and the advertiser, George Fisher, goes on to state that on a certain day, at 11 o'clock, he will sell two negro children, twins, *three weeks old*. Humané people at the North, would not take calves from their dams, and sell them at that tender age. Feelings of humanity, however, must not be indulged in these halcyon days, lest we should be charged with sectional views!

N. Y. Com. Adv.

MUSE'S BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind.
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

FROM THE AMERICAN ECONOMIST.

*Conclusion of an Original Poem on the
advancement of Liberty in the world.*

I turn to injur'd Africa:—her'd land
Of civil discord, slaves, and death—whose
strand

Has long been lin'd by those, who should
have brought

To thee, the light of Truth, & not have sought
Thy sons, and torn them from their home,
to spend,

In distant climes, their days in chains, and
send

Their wo-worn hearts in grief, in painful
grief,

To seek in death relief—a sad relief;
Thou hast upon thy coast received the light
Of science & of Truth, that put to flight
The clouds of mental darkness, that hung
o'er

Thy wide-spread provinces from shore to
shore;—

Soon, thou wilt virtue and refinement boast,
And all those vile disturbers leave thy coast;

In amity and peace thy sons shall live,
Nor to proud kings & lords obedience give;

Some of thy sons from servitude set free,
Have now already turn'd their eyes to thee,

And have with gladness cross'd the raging
train,

And reach'd their long-degraded home a-
gain.

Though friends to Freedom have much
cause to mourn,

And many acts in Freedom's name must
scorn,

The seeds of freedom on the earth are sown,
And tyrants from their stations must come
down;

Science that gives enlargement to the soul,
Is spreading rapidly from pole to pole;

Religion, that exalts and purifies,
The soul of man, and fits it for the skies,

Learns men their frailty and their low es-
tate,

And how the fleeting things of time to rate;
To view in ev'ry thing a hand Divine,

And to the Sovereign Will all things re-
sign;

That learns man mildness to his fellow-
man,

To aim the gen'ral good in ev'ry plan,
Extending wide its soul-illaming rays,

Now plainly indicates more happy days.
AMICUS LIBERTATIS.

January, 1824.

TERMS.

The "Genius of Universal Emancipation" is published monthly, at One Dollar per annum, in advance, for single subscriptions; or, ten dollars per dozen copies, for companies—payable in the currency of the State in which the subscriber resides.

Complete files may be had from the beginning of the work.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 12. Vol. III.

FOURTH MONTH, 1824.

WHOLE No. 40.

Several articles, both original and selected, that had been laid off for insertion in this Number, (among which are two communications from the Manumission Society of Tennessee) have been postponed to make room for the proceedings of the late *American Convention*, which came to hand a few days before the paper was put to press. The minutes will probably all appear in this and the succeeding Number. Some of the addresses, presented to that body, will also be inserted at a future time.

To the kindness of some unknown friend I am indebted for a Number of the *Nottingham Review*, an English paper, and also two No's of the *Connecticut Courant*, containing some very interesting articles on the subject of West India Slavery. I shall give some extracts from them hereafter.—In the mean time, the attention of the reader is solicited to the extract from Clarkson's pamphlet—see page 158.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 131.)

I cannot indulge the idea which is entertained by some, to wit, that *individual exertions*, alone, will effect the abolition of slavery among us, sooner than it could otherwise be done.—It is true that this has mostly been the means of setting the work of political, as well as religious reformation on foot; and it has been found effectual in all cases, to a certain extent, in preparing the public mind for a change, and in paving the way for legislative interference. But there have ever been, in all ages of the world, and under every form of government, many whose hearts were so frozen by avarice, so callous to every feeling of humanity, and so completely centered in selfish considerations, that nothing but the strong arm of the law, or superior physical force, could induce them to listen to the voice of justice. Men of this description are, perhaps, as numerous at this day as ever they were. With them, individual exertion is as nothing. The ballot box must be brought to bear upon them, and if this will not have the desired effect, legislative enactment must be called to its aid. The latter, in most cases, follows as a necessary consequence of the former, though in the instance of choosing ex-

ecutive officers, its moral effect would be powerful; and, as I have heretofore shewn, could not fail to make a favourable impression on the minds of the people generally.

Many are of the opinion that our government has no right to interfere in matters relating to personal slavery. This idea was first suggested by avarice; it is founded in error; and has not the shadow of support either in justice or sound policy.

It is an axiom in politics, that whatever tends to create tumult and disorder, or to produce any thing by which the happiness of society may be jeopardized, should be restrained by law. In a republic, all power not delegated, is withheld. I admit, but the people of the United States have expressly given the constituted authorities a right to act as the conservators of public peace, and to preserve, as far as may be in their power, the tranquility of the nation; and it is well known that slavery has a direct tendency to frustrate every thing of the kind; of course, they must possess the right to do it away, if they see proper. But the right which I claim for the government, in the case under consideration, does not rest on so vague and indefinite a principle as this.—It has been established by the positive consent of the people, and sanctioned by usage.

By a law of Congress, passed a number of years since, and which has been ratified by common consent, hundreds, perhaps, of our citizens have been divested of their slaves, which they had purchased with their money, and held by virtue of as fair and legitimate contracts as any man in the Union holds a slave at this moment. There is not, in fact, an individual upon earth that has a more well founded claim to human beings, as property, than many of our citizens had who made their purchases in Africa prior to the enactment of that law.—Yet the government had the right to interfere, inasmuch as it was found to be detrimental to the weal of the nation to permit them to hold such property by such a tenure. It exercised this right, and it has been clearly justified in so doing. Several of the state governments have also shewn, by their acts, that they possess the same right. The only question, therefore, that remains for us to decide, is this:—*Would it be politic, at the present time, for*

either the general or state governments to exercise the right of abolishing slavery within the bounds of their jurisdiction?—

My answer is, that for some of them it would be politic to abolish it immediately, but for others it would not;—though all might, with perfect safety, commence the work, and I consider it their bounden duty to do so. The government of the United States ought to take measures, promptly and speedily, for checking the internal slave trade; for the gradual abolition of the system of slavery in the District of Columbia; and also to assist all those who are willing to emancipate their slaves on condition of their consenting to leave the country, in transporting them to some suitable place. Many thousands could embrace such an offer; and a few liberal appropriations, annually, for this purpose, would shew that we have some idea of acting on the principle of justice, and, perhaps, ultimately lead to the extinction of that foul blot which now, above all others, casts a shade over, and tends to diminish the brilliancy of our national escutcheon. In another place, I have shewn that the president could, were he so disposed, do much towards encouraging something of this kind; and hence, I repeat that it would be politic in us now to advance to that station, a man who would take an interest in the matter.

It is a settled maxim with us, that the majority of the citizens should bear rule.—And as there can be no question as to the majority of the people of the United States being decidedly opposed to the system of slavery, it is time that the general government should commence the abolition of it where it may have the rightful power to do so. The period has, indeed, arrived when something of this kind is looked for from that quarter. It cannot be expected that a legislative body would be willing to go far in anticipation of the people's wishes, in such a case, when it is aware of its responsibility to them for the manner in which its authority is exercised; yet it should not, on the other hand, exhibit too much tardiness in the adoption of measures that would be consistent with the known will of a majority of them. But in acting upon a subject of such general importance as the one under consideration, it is necessary that some person of enlarged views and persevering disposition should take the lead. Some one who holds an elevated rank, as it relates to character and extent of influence, must advocate it, and also be prepared to furnish evidence of its propriety. And what person in either of the various departments of the govern-

ment, would be more suitable to perform such a task, than the chief executive officer, whose duty it is to communicate to the legislature from time to time his views with respect to the state of the nation?—In my humble opinion no one could enter upon the undertaking with a greater degree of propriety, or mere certainty of success.

Apart from every other consideration, the honour of the nation demands that we should rid ourselves of the stigma which the toleration of individual slavery reflects on us. Our deeds are promiscuously recorded on the imperishable rolls of fame, as they transpire. An hundred pens, that are uninfluenced by either bribe or friendly bias, save what the anticipated applause of posterity produces, are employed in delineating both our virtues and our vices.—Therefore, if we cannot come fairly up to the standard of consistency, let us, at least, shew a disposition to approach it as near as possible. Let it not henceforth be said that a majority of the enlightened citizens of the North American republic are so inattentive to the precepts of universal justice, and the tenets of political virtue, as to elevate to the Presidential chair, a man whose hands are stained with the blood of oppressed humanity.

I will add nothing further upon this subject at present; but in my next, I shall give a few extracts from the late writings of sundry other persons, who have advanced arguments based upon a principle similar to that which I have here feebly endeavoured to support. The subject may seem to be rather novel to some, but it is deserving of the most weighty consideration; and it is to be hoped that it will attract the attention of our citizens, generally.

EMANCIPATION.

Scarcely a session of our county court passes, but we hear of some person making application for the privilege of emancipating his slaves, or expressing his desire to do so. But to the wisdom of our Legislature we are still indebted for the deliverance of many of our worthy, conscientious citizens from "their own worst enemies, themselves." It was expected that the senator from this district would have done something at the last sitting of that body towards endeavouring to lighten the burthen under which many humane and religious people labour, in regard to the system of slavery—and he did do something—he made a proposition, it is said, which he must have known would be rejected; thinking, perhaps, through an apparent excess of zeal for their

cause, to ingratiate himself still more in favor with a portion of the members of the Manumission Society, while his motives would be understood by their opponents. But let our public servants be as skillful as they may in the art of *eyeing*, they will find that they are too closely watched to escape unseen in any of their movements, however tortuous they may be. Their deeds will from time to time be carefully noted down, and remembered. Political manœuvring may sometimes pass for a virtue, but in the main, a straight forward course will be found the safest, especially when the period of service expires, and a new contract is desirable.

But the members of our legislature are not, alone, entitled to the meed of renown for a watchful care over the people's private concerns, relative to slavery. Some time since, a person made application to one of our courts to be authorized to liberate a number of slaves, offering to give the security required by law. He was refused the privilege, on the ground that it would lessen the value of his estate, and thereby tend to impoverish his family!!—Of all the strange decisions we have heard of in deliberative bodies, for a long time, this, taking every thing into account, appears the most strange.—However, we see many "curious sights," in these our days. A new edition of the "blue laws," with copious additions thereto, may one day be published, and it can scarce be doubted that they would be read with interest and avidity, out of Connecticut.

But, to be serious—it is astonishing that a people, professing as highly as we do, can, for a moment, rest contented under such a state of things. O, self-interest, how august and potent art thou!—Thy spear assumes a trifold power, characteristic of thyself.—It searches with the keenness and discernment of philosophy; it is the very lever of archimedes, in overturning systems of political heterodoxy, when they come within its range; and virtue perches herself upon its point, when it is triumphantly raised in the face of the world!—

*"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?"*

The Legislature of South Carolina, has passed a law, by which all slaves from any port or place in the West Indies or Mexico, or any part of South America, or from Europe, or from any sister state, which may be situated to the north of the river Potomac, or of the city of Washington, are prohibited from being brought into South Carolina, under the penalty of \$1000, and the forfeiture

of the slaves to the state; cases of shipwreck and stress of weather excepted.

The Petersburg (Virginia) Republican in speaking of the attempts to call conventions in Illinois and Indiana for the purpose of introducing slavery, and of the decision against it in the latter state, says:

"We rejoice in that decision. We know too much of the evils of slavery, to wish its introduction into any portion of our country, now happily exempt from this horrible entail."

NEW BOOK, ON SLAVERY.

Proposals for a publication, on the subject of Slavery, have recently been issued in Kentucky, by a Presbyterian Minister, of which the following is a copy.—The editor has received a subscription paper, and would be glad to procure the names of such as may be willing to patronize it, in this part of the country.

PROPOSALS

For publishing a Treatise on the subject of Slavery.

In which the evils of Slaveholding will be shewn forth, both from the law of nature and from the volume of Divine revelation; as, also, the duty pointed out of all the free inhabitants of the United States, relative to the practice. The work, it is supposed, will contain one hundred and fifty pages. Price to subscribers, 50 cents. To any person holding a subscription paper, one will be given gratis for every twelve subscribers to whom confidence may be reposed.

NEW SOCIETIES, &c.

In the last Number of this work, I had the pleasure of recording the proceedings of a new society for the abolition of slavery in the western part of Pennsylvania. This is the third society of the kind in that state; and from the knowledge I have of some of its leading members, I anticipate much good from its establishment.

Four or five extensive associations for the "prevention of slavery in Illinois," have recently been organized in that state, the members of which are active and influential.

The Virginians are beginning to awaken from "the slumber of ages," to walk in the light of republican consistency; and it is with pleasure I learn that the foundation is laid for a very respectable Abolition Society in the eastern part of their state. Success to their efforts in so good a cause!

The spirit of emancipation is also looking

in the District of Columbia, and sundry well informed and influential persons there talk strongly of organizing a society of the same kind, in that part of the country.

In North Carolina, I understand that it is in contemplation to re-model their "Manumission and Colonization Society," and to make a genuine manumission society of it. This would no doubt be found highly advantageous, as the views of most of the advocates of African Colonization are too much at variance with the friends of universal emancipation at present, to harmonize, or to be of much service to them in bringing about a melioration of the condition of the slaves among us. When the friends of the former measure will agree to any thing, even of a prospective character, that will have emancipation for its object, an union of the parties may be advisable.—But until then, little or no good can arise therefrom.

From divers other places we have also cheering accounts. And we must not lose sight of our own section of country, while contemplating the progressive state of the great work of political reformation on this continent.

The number of branches of the *Manumission Society of Tennessee* now amounts to twenty.—Of actual members there are nearly seven hundred; and, perhaps, five or six times that number of the citizens of this state are known to be decided & avowed friends to the cause; & they are daily increasing. Several new branches are also about to be formed; men of talents and influence are joining our ranks; and—THE GLORIOUS WORK IS HASTENING TO ITS CONSUMMATION. Let our friends, in the other slave holding states take courage.—We are marching steadily onward. Our ultimate success is no longer doubtful—it is as certain as fate.

AUSPICIOUS.

In several prospectuses lately issued for new periodical works, in different parts of the United States, I observe that the system of slavery is denounced, and the idea is held out that a portion of them will be devoted to that subject. I have, likewise, noticed that the term "Universal Emancipation" is getting much more in use than formerly, among our writers. "Straws shew which way the wind blows"—and, feathers floating on the sea, during a calm, shew whither the current sets.

By the report of the special committee on negro slavery in South Carolina, it ap-

pears that in that state, alone, there are 258,478 slaves, valued at 77,543,000 dollars, averaging \$300 each. In the United States there are about *one million five hundred thousand!*

MORE RETRIBUTION!

A late paper says:—"The Caciques and Indians of various tribes are at open war with the Province of Buenos Ayres. They commit great depredations on its frontiers, carry the christians into slavery, and will listen to no proposals made on the part of the government."—Verily the *heathens* are turning the tables upon the *professors* of Christianity.

A new periodical work is proposed to be published in Philadelphia, to be entitled the "*Ethiopian Mirror*."—I have not learned upon what principle it is to be conducted, nor who is to be the editor.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

I have just received a valuable pamphlet from a highly esteemed friend, of other days, who now occupies a seat in the congress of the United States, containing the message from the President, laid before the house of representatives on the 20th of last month, relating to the suppression of the slave trade. I shall avail myself of the first opportunity to copy some very interesting articles from it. The pamphlet consists almost wholly of the diplomatic correspondence between our government and those of Great Britain and France, on the subject in question.

OBITUARY.

The article below, is from a late Baltimore paper. The deceased, who is the subject of this notice, was well known as one of the most active and zealous friends of the poor, oppressed Africans, that our country could boast for many years. But a few months since, he took into his care a number of slaves who had been captured at sea, and were offered for sale in Baltimore, and finally procured a passage for them home. So great was the antipathy against him among our western slave-traders, that it is said they recently gave his name to a boat (in derision, tho they could not possibly have done him more honour) which is kept expressly for the purpose of transporting negroes from the upper country to New Orleans. I shall not, at this time, enter into a biographical detail of his worthy acts; but I hope some of his more intimate acquaint-

ances will furnish such memoirs concerning him as may be interesting to the public.

"On Wednesday, the remains of the worthy and venerable **ELISHA TYSON** were interred in the Friends' burying-ground, in Baltimore. A numerous concourse of relatives and friends attended his obsequies, together, it is supposed, with nearly *four thousand people of colour*, who assembled to pay their last tribute of respect and gratitude to their deceased friend and patron."

Extract of a letter lately received by the editor of this paper, from a gentleman holding a very important office under the government of the United States.

"What will rouse the feelings of an avicious and ungodly man sooner than to touch his purse, or his interest, although his treasure may have been gotten by fraud, murder, and robbery, and preserved by a system of war? Is not this completely the case with African slavery? I think it the worst kind of robbery upon earth, and one which must sooner or later call forth the vengeance of heaven. Many, very many, who advocate the practice of slavery know it to be inconsistent with justice and sound policy; yet Pharaoh-like, they will not yield. I am glad to find that thou art speaking in an undaunted and determined tone. I am satisfied thy labour will not be lost. This manner of enlightening the public mind on a subject so important to the body politic, to say nothing of religion, I think very judicious, and must be applauded, even by those who do not allow themselves to speak out to that effect. "Little strokes fell great oaks." The little stone which Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, may, in due time, destroy the monster. There must be a beginning to every great work; and it should be a source of satisfaction to every good man, that he has contributed, even in a small degree, to any good work. The cause of truth and justice must ultimately prevail—though its enemies are upon the alert, we should not be discouraged; an opposition may be beneficial in our progress. If we feel conscious of doing our duty, we need not regard the opposition we meet with."

A friend and correspondent of the editor writes on the subject of the missionary system, as follows—

"The citizens of the United States, are sufficiently numerous and wealthy, not only to engage powerfully in the emancipation cause, but to send missionaries to the dark

and benighted sons of Birmah and to many parts of Africa, as well as the Indians of our own country. However I acknowledge that the poor degraded Africans in our country are neglected too much, when at the same time the mission system is flourishing, and have no doubt but many slave holders subscribe largely to the latter cause, and at the same time, have poor ignorant slaves whom they would not on any consideration condescend to teach how to read. This is certainly an inconsistency. The people of the northern states are the principal supporters of the missionary cause. The citizens of the southern states should engage warmly in the cause of the African emancipation. However, every friend of humanity who reflects seriously will advocate it, no matter where he lives."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation. **ANTICIPATION.**

It is a maxim with many, that it is a folly to anticipate trouble.—This I will readily admit, where the anticipation is only of the imaginary kind; but is it not wisdom to avert a calamity by a timely care, which is not done in time will most assuredly overwhelm us in destruction? If our residence were on the banks of a rapid river, and we should observe the stream to gradually encroach upon our buildings, and to all appearance, be likely in a short time to undermine the foundation thereof, would it not be prudent to prevent such a disaster, by giving the stream another direction? Certainly it would.—Then let us apply these prudent measures to prevent a calamity that will in all probability overtake us, sooner or later, in consequence of the present system pursued in many of these states, respecting the negro population among us. May we not venture to look forward and anticipate consequences that may take place from known causes and effects, without presuming at any thing like predicting such events? Are we not in the habit of anticipating events in the course of our business throughout our lives? Therefore, if we find it our interest to look forward for advantages, or to prevent losses or injury from the effects of known causes in the course of our business, may we not by the same rule of practice, look forward and endeavour to prevent or turn aside by a prudent and timely precaution a political evil, that threatens us with the most dreadful consequences?

We are often guided with respect to the future by the past; and the census taken once

ten years, furnishes us with a tolerably correct rule, by which we may calculate the probable increase of the population in these states, for years to come. Admitting this to be the fact, let us look forward and see how the black part of the population may increase in 30, 60, 90 or 120 years hence.

According to the last census, the people of colour in the United States were in round numbers, about 2,000,000; and if we take it for granted that they will increase in future just as they have hitherto done, they will double in number every 25 or 30 years, and may be estimated in round numbers, say in

1820	at	2 millions.
1850		4 do.
1880		8 do.
1910		16 do.

Some will say we must keep down that increase by means of the Colonization scheme;—they must be sent off to Africa, or some other part of the world. But before we proceed further, let us examine what that plan may effect, and try to ascertain what numbers may be likely to be transported within a given period, say 30 years; and then we may calculate the probable number remaining at the end of that time, viz. 1850. Suppose 20 ships were employed to transport the people of colour, as aforesaid, and at they make two voyages each in a year, each ship taking on an average 350 persons each voyage; they would transport in one year 14,000, and in 30 years 420,000, leaving in these states among us, in the year 1850, about 3,580,000 of those people.^a The expense of transportation, during that time, the Colonization Society, the government, to individuals, would amount to about 1,600,000 dollars, allowing them to be transported at 30 dollars each, which is about 10 dollars less than the cost of transporting German passengers from Europe to these states. We may, therefore, presume that the Colonization plan will not have much effect in thinning the number of the coloured people; for we may suppose that diet, individuals, or government will not expend such vast sums, without it should produce effects more to the purpose. This

^aMy correspondent has rather over-rated a number that will probably remain at the end to which he here alludes. He has made no allowance for the drawback on the probable increase by transportation in the early part of the time stated. Upon a nice calculation, this would be found to be something considerable, provided, that many of these should be colonized.—*Editor.*

being admitted, we must consider that relief cannot, or will not be obtained in that way.

Some have supposed it would be best to remove them to some remote part of our western territory; but a very little reflection, or a peep into the future, will shew the impolicy of such a measure. They would be too near us, for our peace or security. It is also extremely doubtful whether the holders of slaves would ever agree to relinquish their right to their slaves, to be sent off to those settlements;—and if this should be the case, and they were composed of people of colour, who were previously free, would not such settlements become places of refuge for large numbers of slaves to flee to as they might find opportunity; and in the end, would not such a collection of people on our borders, be our inveterate enemies?—Or, further, if we were even to obtain a grant of part of the Island of Cuba, Porto Rico, or Hispaniola, and were to transport them there, would they not by their piracies and vexatious petty warfare, endanger our trade in those seas? Unless all were sent from these states, they might assist the disaffected among us;—and that all could not be transported, is evident, as the numbers among us are too great to be admitted in those islands.^b At least, we may suppose that the authorities in those islands would not

I must take the liberty of dissenting from the writer's opinion, with regard to the propriety of sending the people of colour from this country to the West India islands. He is, I think, mistaken, as to their being an insufficiency of room for them. It is said that Hispaniola, alone, once contained 3,000,000 inhabitants; and if he will apply his own principle to the progress of population there, he will discover that those islands are destined to be filled up with blacks, whether ours form a part or not; and even that they will be thus filled much sooner than any other part of the country to which he has alluded. The vexations the inhabitants will occasion to us, in regard to commercial operations, will then, taking the most favourable view of the subject, be the same; but their enmity must be strong and deep rooted indeed, if we persist in a refusal to do their brethren justice, though not otherwise. The cost of transportation would be reduced one half or probably two thirds, were they to be sent thither; the climate would be congenial to such as are born in this country; and I believe the circumstance would aid in affording a practicable scheme for ridding ourselves of the system of slavery.—*Editor.*

consider it good policy to admit such vast numbers, for many prudential reasons. Therefore, by looking around and examining every scheme hitherto proposed, we shall find a difficulty; and I can see but one course of events that will be likely to take place. Without presuming to predict, I will give my views of what I think will probably be the final state of things, as it regards these people; (viz.) that at some time, when their numbers increase to from 8 to 12 millions, they will have possession of the district of country, now a part of these states, from Texas to the Potomac river, and from the Sea to the Blue Ridge, the latter boundary extending on a line due west, &c.—they are now about one-fifth of our population, and perhaps that district is not equal to one-fifth of our territory but it is probable that they will be much reduced in numbers ere they effect the quiet possession of such a district. But the insurrections, wars, and conflicts between them and the whites for a long number of years, would at length induce the whites to make a compromise in some way, allowing them to hold possession, either as tributaries; a part of these states; or as an independent people. This state of things will be thought very improbable by many—they will immediately query thus:—Cannot four-fifths of the population keep the mastery over one-fifth?—This I will readily grant, for the whites might kill and butcher off the whole of the black population. But let us take another view of the probable course of events.—We find by the census taken at different periods of time in these states, that the black part of the population, in what is called the slave states, increases much faster, in proportion to their numbers, than the white. This ratio of increase will no doubt continue; for the same causes that have existed to make this disproportion of increase, will continue to exist. There has also been some insurrections among the people of colour in some of the southern states, which, although not to a very alarming extent, yet such a state of things will, and does have, an effect on the minds of many timid people; and if it does not frighten many of the white inhabitants from those districts, it will, at least, deter whites from emigrating to such places. And further, it is found that where the labour in any district of country, is done chiefly by slaves; that it is considered degrading for a white person to labour; and this has the effect of inducing those white inhabitants, that are under the necessity of labouring to support themselves and their families, to re-

move to other parts where labor is not considered dishonorable. That circumstance has a tendency, instantly to draw off a part of the white population, and to increase the disproportion. But after a time, as the difference continues to augment, the blacks finding themselves gaining strength, they are induced to be more frequent in their attempts to obtain their liberty; and as those attempts become more frequent and during the fears of many of the white inhabitants will at length induce them to remove to places of more safety. Therefore, the operation of all those causes will increase in a geometrical proportion, until, in many districts, it is probable that, in the course of time, there will be but few white inhabitants remaining. When this state of things arrives to that point, I will ask the advocates of slavery what is to be done? Will any of you then venture to reside on your estate, or will not those estates as naturally fall into the hands of the people of colour, as the fall of a leaf from a tree in autumn? I do not wish to excite an unnecessary alarm; but before the French revolution, the planters in the island of St. Domingo did not suppose they were making improvements on their estates for those slaves to enjoy—we find however, that so it was;—and is it not probable that the planters in some of our southern states, are also doing the same thing for their slaves?

We find by the census, that every year the evil and danger increases. Had it been when the people of colour were only one million in number, gone to work in earnest there would have been but half the difficulty that we now will have, to apply a remedy—and if we go on, as we have done, until they are increased to four millions, there will then at least be twice the difficulty that there now is. Then why do we remain in our present state of apathy? Let us open our eyes and see our real situation. We are such a people among us, that cannot, will not, and ought not to be amalgamated with us; their degraded situation and the treatment they have in a general way receive from the whites, is such, as to induce them to be, if they obtain the mastery, the most inveterate and the most dangerous of foes. I think it to be the duty of all and every one of us, to endeavour to arouse the people from their lethargy respecting our situation as regards them. Fifty or eighty years is long time to an individual—but with a nation it will appear in history but as a day. At the expiration of 80 years, the black part of the population will probably be about eig-

millions, and they crowded into those districts where there will be but few whites in proportion to them; and who, among the planters, will be hardy enough to stand their ground among such a people?

It seems as though we are doing every thing in our power to hasten our own destruction. The slave holder supposes his interest is advanced by his wenches having many children, as the more children they bring him the more hundreds of dollars he supposes are added to his estate. The sugar and the cotton planters particularly, suppose it to be their interest to procure as many slaves as possible, not reflecting that they are by such means hastening the time that those very slaves will, by their numbers and strength obtain possession of the plantations which they are at so much pains and expense in improving, and not even dreaming that their children, grand-children, or great grand-children will have to flee for their lives, from the very people that appear at this time, so extremely despicable and insignificant. Are we not strangely infatuated by present appearances?—Why do we, from the prospect of a present gain, jeopardize our future safety?—Why not pursue a plan that would secure to us a sufficient competency for the present, and safety for the future? **BENEZETTE.**

A SHAMELESS STATESMAN!

In a late speech on the Greek question, in congress, John Randolph observed—

"Among other cases forcibly put by the gentleman from Mass. why he would embark in this incipient crusade against Mussulmen, he stated this as one—that they sold human beings as property. Ah, sir, said Mr. R.—and what says the constitution of the United States on this point?—Does not that constitution give its sanction to the holding of human beings as property? I would ask gentlemen in this House, who have the misfortune to reside on the wrong side of a certain mysterious parallel of latitude, to take this question seriously into consideration—whether the Government of the U. States is prepared to say, that the act of holding human beings as property, is sufficient to place the party so offending under the ban of its high and mighty displeasure?"

"Slavery cannot breathe in England."

An interesting case has just been tried in England, in the Court of King's Bench, in which Mr. Forbes, a British merchant in the

Spanish provinces of East and West Florida, sought to recover from Sir A. Cochrane and Sir George Cockburn the sum of 3,860*l.* the value of some slaves belonging to the plaintiff, and harbored by the defendants on board a British vessel. Many minor questions arose in the progress of the inquiry, but the main point was, whether the refugee voluntarily sought and given to slaves, in an English ship, did not give the same right of freedom which had been decreed to the children of the deserter the moment he lands on the British shore. The judges, Bailey, Holroyd, and Best, were decidedly of opinion that the action was not maintainable, as the plaintiff ceased to have any right or title to the slaves the moment that they threw themselves upon the protection of the British flag.—*N. Y. Com. Ad.*

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

Minutes of the eighteenth session of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race convened at Philadelphia, on the seventh day of October, 1823.

SELECT COUNCIL CHAMBER.

At a meeting of the American Convention, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. held at Philadelphia, 10th Month (October) 7th, 1823, William Rawle, Esq. was appointed Chairman, and Thomas Shipley, Secretary.

Communications were received from the Societies at Rhode-Island, New-York, Pennsylvania and Tennessee, by which it appeared the following persons were appointed Delegates to this Convention viz:

New-York.

Joshua Underhill,	Samuel Wood,
John Stearns, M. D.	Ira Clizbe, Esq.
Isaac M. Ely,	Robert F. Mott.

Pennsylvania.

William Rawle, Esq.	Thomas Shipley,
John Keating Jr. Esq.	Isaac Barton,
Jos. W. Rowland,	Abraham L. Pennock.
Roberts Vaux,	William Baker,
Solomon Temple,	Philip Price, Jr.

Rhode-Island.

Otis Ammidon,	Arnold Buffum,
<i>Tennessee.</i>	

Benjamin Landy.

Of whom were present from Rhode-Island, Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum, New-York, Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Pennsylvania, William Rawle Esq. Thomas Shipley, Isaac Barton, Jos. W. Rowland, Roberts Vaux, William Baker, Solomon

Temple, Philip Price, Jr. Tennessee, Benjamin Lundy.

A number of the Delegates being absent on motion adjourned to 4 o'clock P. M.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment, present William Rawle, Esqr. in the Chair;

Rhode-Island.

Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum. *New-York.* Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe. *Pennsylvania.* William Rawle, Thomas Shipley, John Keating, Jr. Isaac Barton, Jos. W. Rowland, Abraham L. Pennock, William Baker, Solomon Temple, Philip Price, Jr. *Tennessee.* Benjamin Lundy—and Evan Lewis, John Wales, Benjamin Ferris, Joseph Bringham. Delegates from the Delaware Society. Lea Pusey and Abraham Marshall, Delegates from the Society at Chester County, Pa. who presented their Credentials and took their seats in the Convention.

The Convention proceeded to ballot for Officers, Philip Price Jr. and Thomas Shipley were appointed Tellers, who reported the following persons as duly elected viz: *President*, William Rawle, Esq. *Vice-President*, Evan Lewis. *Secretaries*, Ira Clizbe, Esq. Thomas Shipley. *Treasurer* Abraham L. Pennock.

The President requesting leave of absence, the Vice-President, Evan Lewis, took the Chair.

After which Addresses from the Manumission Societies of Providence, R. I. New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Tennessee and Chester County, Pa. to the Convention, were severally read.

A Committee of Arrangement was then appointed, to bring before the Convention such subjects as might demand its more immediate attention at its present session.

The following persons were appointed that Committee.

Evan Lewis,	Ira Clizbe,
Arnold Buffum,	Abraham Marshall Jr.
John Keating Jr.	Benjamin Lundy.

Jos. W. Rowland and Thomas Shipley, were appointed to examine and settle the Treasurer's accounts.

The report of the Acting committee was read and accepted,

The Acting Committee appointed by the late convention respectfully report: That in conformity with the instructions of the Convention, they forwarded to Congress the memorial on the subject of Slavery in Florida, which was read in that body, but it does not appear to have had the effect desired.

They prepared an Address to the people of the United States, on the subject of Slavery, and directed it to be circulated.

To the Several Societies favourable to the rights of Coloured persons, they gave due notice of the adjournment of the late Convention and the time of holding the next.

They prepared and circulated a letter to individuals in states where Slavery is permitted, as a commencement of a correspondence on the subject of its Abolition. Copies of this letter and of the Address, to the people of the United States are herewith presented to the Convention.

They have not succeeded in procuring the desired information with regard to the existing Laws of the several States, which relate to the natural and social rights of free persons of Colour.

They procured the printing of 750 copies of the minutes of the late Convention, and distributed them among the several Abolition and Manumission Societies, with which they were acquainted.

They also, on learning that the New-York Society were about to publish a pamphlet on the comparative profitableness of free and slave labour, addressed by Adam Hodgson, to J. B. Say, ordered 200 copies of the same, which are subject to the disposal of the Convention.

THOMAS EARLE, *Secretary.*

The Convention adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Wednesday, 8th Oct. 10 o'clock, A. M.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment *Present.*

Rhode Island.—Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum. *New York.*—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe. *Pennsylvania.*—William Rawle, Esq. William Baker, Jos. W. Rowland, Philip Price, Jr. Abraham L. Pennock, Thomas Shipley, Solomon Temple. *Delaware.*—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Jos. Bringham. Benjamin Ferris. *Chester County, Pa.*—Lea Pusey, Abraham Marshall. *Tennessee.*—Benjamin Lundy.

Dr. John Stearns and Robert F. Mott, delegates from the New-York Society, appeared and took their seats.

The minutes of last meeting were read and Approved.

The Committee of Arrangements produced the following Report, which was Approved.

The Committee of Arrangement Report that they have examined the addresses from the different Abolition and Manumission Societies, represented in this Convention, and noted the specific subjects recommended in them to its consideration.

There is much useful and important information contained in the addresses, and also much to cheer and console the friends of humanity and the rights of man: it appears however to your Committee, that the subjects upon which the Convention is required to act, are embraced in the following resolutions, which are respectfully submitted to the consideration of the Convention.

1st.—*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draft a Memorial to Congress, and also a Circular Address to the different State Legislatures, requesting their co-operation in procuring the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

2nd.—That the plan for a general emancipation of Slaves, adopted at the last Session be considered by Convention, in Committee of the whole.

3rd.—That a Committee be appointed to obtain information in relation to the acquiescence of the people of South Carolina, in the opinion of Judge Johnson, referred to in the address from New York and Pennsylvania, and report thereon to this Convention.

4th.—That a Committee be appointed to prepare a Memorial to Congress, on the subject of transporting slaves from one state or territory to another.

The committee would also respectfully suggest to the consideration of the Convention, to endeavour to obtain some modification of the Laws of the United States, and of the respective states, in relation to the competency of slaves, to testify in courts of justice.

5th.—That a Committee be, also, raised to prepare an address to the different Religious Societies in the United States, to endeavour to enlist them in aid of the great cause of Abolition in general; and that said address particularly recommend especial attention to the following important subjects, to wit, increased regard for the solemnity of the Marriage contract among slaves; to counteract and discourage, the degrading and immoral practice of promiscuous intercourse between the white and coloured population, where such intercourse exists; to promote as much as possible the manumission of slaves in the different states, and the education of people of colour.

The subject of colonization of the blacks, on a part of the Territory of the United States, is recommended in the Address from the Society in Tennessee; but as the Convention at its former sessions, has decided upon that question in general, it is not thought necessary by the Committee that any order should now be taken upon it.

Signed on behalf of the Committee.

EVAN LEWIS, *Ch'm.*

AB. MARSHALL, Jr. *Sec'y.*

Philadelphia, 10 Month, 8th. 1823.

The Committee appointed to settle the Treasurer's Accounts, reported they had examined his account and compared it with his vouchers, an abstract of which they presented by which it appears there is a balance due the Convention, in his hands, of ninety-six dollars and seventy-nine cents.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was then taken up and considered by paragraphs.

The first Resolution recommended by the Committee, was ordered to lie on the table.

The second Resolution recommended by the Committee was laid on the table.

The third Resolution recommended by the Committee was referred to Dr. J. Stearns, Abraham L. Pennock and Benjamin Ferris.

The fourth Resolution recommended by the Committee was ordered to lie on the table.

The fifth subject recommended by the Committee was referred to Evan Lewis, Ira Clizbe, Abraham Marshall, Jr. J. Underhill and Roberts Vaux.

The last subject contained in the Report of the Committee of Arrangements wherein it is recommended to take no definite measures upon the subject of Colonization, was adopted.

A motion was made and carried that an Acting Committee, be forthwith appointed.

The following persons were appointed said Committee.

Otis Ammidon, R. F. Mott, T. Shipley, Isaac Barton, J. W. Rowland, J. Keating, A. L. Pennock, S. Temple, P. Price, L. Pusey, Joseph Bringham, Benjamin Lundy.

The following Report, of the Committee appointed by the last Convention, to obtain information relative to the moral and political condition of the coloured inhabitants of Hayti, and other foreign countries &c. was read.

[*This Report will be published hereafter.*]

On motion *Resolved*, That the disposition of the 200 Copies of Adam Hodgsons letter to J. R. Say, mentioned in the Report of the Acting Committee, be referred to the present Acting Committee.

The Convention adjourned till 4 o'clock this afternoon.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment *Present*

FROM PROVIDENCE R. I.—A. Buffum Otis Ammidon.

Do New York.—J. Underhill, Dr. J. Stearns, J. Clizbe, R. F. Mott.

Do. Pennsylvania.—Roberts Vaux, Wm. Baker, J. Keating Jun. Joseph W. Rowland, S. Temple, Isaac Barton, Philip Price Jun. A. L. Pennock, Thomas Shipley.

Do. Delaware.—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Jos. Bringhamst Benj. Ferris.

Do. Chester County, Pa.—Lea Pusey, Abraham Marshall.

Do. Tennessee.—Benjamin Lundy.

On motion *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient for this Convention to address at present any memorial to Congress on the subject of Emancipation of Slaves in the United States, or in the District of Columbia.

A motion was made and carried that the Acting Committee Report, on the opening of the Convention at its next regular meeting, the unfinished business of any preceding Convention.

On motion *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to report to the Convention the unfinished business, which may claim its attention, the following persons were appointed the Committee:

Thomas Shipley, John Wales, R. F. Mott, Adjourned to 4, P. M.

Convention met, pursuant to adjournment, *Present:*

From Rhode-Island.—Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum. *New-York.*—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Dr. John Stearns, Robert F. Mott. *Pennsylvania.*—Wm. Rawle, Esq. Wm. Baker, Isaac Barton, Jos. W. Rowland, Philip Price Jun. Abraham L. Pennock, Thomas Shipley. *Delaware.*—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Jos. Bringhamst, Benjamin Ferris. *Chester County, Pa.*—Lea Pusey, Abm. Marshall. *Tennessee.*—Benjamin Lundy.

The minutes of the forenoon session were read and approved.

The minutes of the last acting committee were then read and approved.

Several printed Reports of the case of the Vigilant, a French ship employed in the slave trade—A Memorial from the society of Friends on the subject of the Abolition of Slavery, to the Parliament of Great Britain, and a Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the colonies of Great Britain, by the London Society for mitigating and gradually abolishing slavery in the British dominions, were laid before the Convention, by Roberts Vaux, Esq. and the consideration of them referred to A. L. Pennock, Joseph Bringhamst, and Lea Pusey.

A motion was made and carried, That

the acting committee be instructed to correspond with humane and intelligent individuals and societies, upon the subject of slavery, with a view to its abolition.

To take into consideration the expediency of establishing a periodical paper, to be under the direction of the Convention, and to be devoted to the cause of emancipation. The following persons were appointed a Committee:

Benjamin Lundy John Wales, Esq.
Arnold Buffum, Robert F. Mott,
John Keating, Jr. Esq. Lea Pusey.

The Committee upon unfinished business, made the following Report:

The Committee to whom was referred the subject of the unfinished business of the preceding Convention, report—That the following are the only resolutions and subjects before the last Convention which are not disposed of, and remain for farther consideration, viz.—a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to collect and digest the laws respecting slaves and people of colour; and a resolution instructing the acting committee to obtain the fullest possible information respecting the laws, ordinances, and regulations affecting the natural and social rights of free persons of colour in the several states and territories, and in the district of Columbia.

They respectfully recommend, that the last resolution be recommended to the attention of the acting committee.

J. WALES,
T. SHIPLEY.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to make a digest of the laws of the United States, and of the several states and territories, on the subject of slavery.

The following persons were appointed that Committee:

Wm. Rawle, Ira Clizbe, John Keating Jr. John Wales, Abraham Marshall, Jr.

Adjourned till nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

(To be concluded next month.)

"FRIENDS OF HUMANITY."

BELLEVILLE (ILLINOIS) Jan. 26, 1824.

Sir, in looking over one of your Numbers I discovered that you had noticed the society of which I am a member so far as to give one of our circular addresses room in your paper. Enclosed I forward the first address of our society, by which you may discover our rise and progress in Illinois. For several years there has, however, been additions since the publication of this ad-

dress, which have swelled our number to two hundred and fifty; among which there are twelve ordained Preachers, and two licentiate.

I am dear sir, with sentiments of respect,
yours affectionately, *****.

Benjamin Lundy, *Editor of the*
Genius of Universal Emancipation. }

CIRCULAR ADDRESS,

From the ministers and delegates composing the annual meeting of the baptized churches of Christ, Friends of Humanity, to the churches they represent.

WRITTEN BY JAMES LEMEN, JR.

Beloved Brethren:

ALTHOUGH our present condition of life is such, that we are permitted to meet but occasionally, yet the Author of our existence has provided means whereby we may converse with each other, though absent in body, which is by way of letter. Therefore, we most gladly avail ourselves of this method of communication, and through the medium of a circular, transmit to you a tender of our sincere affection and christian fellowship. Be pleased to receive this as such.

We can inform you, that according to appointment, we, your delegates, met at the time and place specified in our minutes; and, to our comfort and satisfaction, found suitable preparations for the comfortable accommodation of all who attended our annual meeting. The first day was spent in attending to divine worship; on the second, the letters from the different churches were called for. Providence and Cold Water Churches presented none; but we have since received a letter from Providence Church, which informed us that their number was thirty-seven, and also requested a visit from some of our preachers. For further information relative to the manner in which our meeting was conducted, we will refer you to our minutes, an examination of which will furnish you with information relative to our present number, with the exception of the two churches above mentioned.

Dear Brethren, when by a retrospective glance we retrace the roll of but a few seasons, and realize the commencement of our labors on the waters of Cantine and Silver creeks, contrasting those times with the present, ought not the response of our hearts to be, the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. In 1810, a small handful, seven in number, withdrew their membership from the gener-

al union, on the account of involuntary slavery, believing it to be an iniquity which ought not to be tolerated by christian churches. Formidable, indeed, were the powers, which we then had to combat, and alarming were the oppositions which we had to encounter. But none of these things moved us, being sensible, that unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary slavery, is contrary to, and a violation of the principles of nature, reason, justice, policy, and scripture. In 1811, the Lord was pleased, graciously to move on the minds of a few faithful members on Silver creek, (also seven in number) who called for a constitution, and in February of the following year were constituted, three of whom have departed this life in the triumphs of faith. Several years were spent, in faithful labor, ere there was a discovery of any fruits, thereof. At length Almighty God smiled propitiously on our efforts, and almost instantaneously swelled our number to its present, and is still making daily additions. Beloved brethren, while we behold that arm which quietly props the universe, thus gloriously displaying its power, in our defence, do we not feel conscious that our cause is just. It is the cause of oppressed humanity. We have seen the sable sons of Africa torn from their native land by the hand of a ruthless enemy, and condemned to perpetual bondage, to be driven at pleasure, like hogs and sheep to market, there to be disposed of for silver or gold; where husband and wife, parent and child, are torn from the fond embraces of each other; where the groans of the distressed father, or of the more deeply affected mother; the tear of the weeping child, are seen and heard only to be disregarded, let humanity drop a tear, and blot from the catalogue of human offences the enormity of crimes, that it may not be told in "Gath nor published in the streets of Ashkelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph." Alas! this evil has not only found its way into our nation, and spread its poison there, but, restless to obtain still greater victories, has approached the portals of the sanctuary of the Most High; and, lamentable to relate, has found admittance there, and defiled even the temples of the living God; causing the children of light (who have been redeemed from cruel bondage, and restored to the enjoyment of perfect liberty) to grow forgetful of the change, and to impose involuntary servitude on their brethren in the gospel, and thus becoming masters, can say to one brother, come, and ho

That Justitia Hat Oculum.

cometh, and to another, go, and he goeth; new maxims which the gospel knows nothing of. And will a God of equal justice rest quietly in his pavilion, when "justice has fallen asleep, and judgment gone away backwards;" while the poor are bought for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes, (Amos viii. 6.) has he not already declared that his people of late have risen up against him as an enemy, plucking off the robe with the garment from them that would pass by securely as men averse from war, (Micah vii. 8.) He has also declared what the consequence shall be: Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong, that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work, (Jer. xxii. 13.) Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields; which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, (James v. 4.) Seeing God hath taken cognizance of these things in the archives of heaven, and is now looking through the windows of his habitation to see whether any will appear on the side of the oppressed, shall we refuse to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty; will we not, like the men of Gideon, come forth in haste, unappalled, before a host of oppositions, and exclaim in the consciousness of our rectitude, we struggle for liberty! Our cause is just. It is the cause which induced our forefathers to quit their peaceful homes, and go forth in martial array to meet the enemy in the tented field, (with victory or death written on their forehead) regardless of either their blood or treasure. And although some unfortunately found an untimely grave in the desolate wilderness, and went down to the chambers of silence without either a change of apparel, a sheet or a coffin, while the bones of others were left to bleach upon the mountains without a burial, yet their cause being righteous it still prospered in the hands of their survivors, who at length obtained a glorious conquest; a conquest which the pages of future history will be found to relate. Thus the enemy being driven like a flock of frightened goats before an impetuous storm, back to their native shore, to own the eclipse of their glory, the war-worn veterans of America could return in peace to their former habitations, bearing laurels of victory in their hands, at whose return the daughters of America could join in song with the daughter of Israel, and sing, Britain hath slain her thousands, but America hath slain her tens

of thousands. Thus having obtained their freedom, could form a government of their own, the principles of which all nations are, or will be, proud to imitate; and we trust, that under the influence of a just providence, we shall be able to boldly and nobly defend our cause, and to build up a society the government of which will be a pattern for societies yet unborn to follow. The holy scriptures are on our side, which will be seen from the passages which to you have been cited. Moreover, the constitution of the United States, and of this state, are both in our favor. The former declares that all men are born equally free and independent, while the latter states that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude introduced into this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Thus the scene is changed, and now instead of being charged with flying in the face of authority, we can exhort our congregations to be subject to the higher powers. But lest our address should appear more like a volume than a circular, we shall now conclude with a short exhortation. Recollect, brethren; that we are constituted on the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and have also taken them for our form of government. Must it not be said of them as was said of Goliath's sword, "there is none better." Therefore, endeavor to become conversant with those holy pages. Read them prayerfully, that you may have a correct understanding of what you read, for the doctrines we hold. The manner of our building up and governing churches is all drawn therefrom. Being thus taught, thus constituted, thus governed, possessing an established heart, you can confidently answer the messengers of the nation, the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it, (Isa. xiv. 32) and also bid them to turn in this way, and to walk about Zion, and go round about her; tell the towers thereof; mark you well her bulwarks; consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generations following, (Ps. xlviii. 12, 13.)

From the Edwardville (Illinois) Spectator.

"From various sources, entitled to the utmost credit, we learn with gratification, that the progress of opinion" against "a convention is daily gaining strength. In the judgment of many of the best informed men in our state no doubt now remains, if there ever was one, of the ultimate triumph of the people" over "the cabalistic power" of their enemies in disguise.

EXTRACTS

From a late Pamphlet, written by the celebrated THOMAS CLARKSON.

In examining a period comprehending the last forty years, I find no less than six or seven instances of the emancipation of African slaves *in bodies*. The first of these cases occurred at the close of the first American war. A number of slaves had run away from their North American masters and joined the British army. When peace came, the British Government did not know what to do with them. Their services were no longer wanted. To leave them behind to fall again into the power of their masters would have been cruelty as well as injustice; and as to taking them to England, what could have been done with them there? It was at length determined to *give them their liberty*, and to disband them in Nova Scotia, and to settle them there upon grants of land as *British subjects* and as *free men*. The Nova Scotians on learning their destination were alarmed. They could not bear the thought of having such a number of black persons among them, and particularly as these understood the use of arms. The Government, however, persevering in its original intention, they were conveyed to Halifax, & distributed from thence into the country. Their number, comprehending men, women and children, were two thousand and upwards. To gain their livelihood, some of them worked upon little portions of land of their own; others worked as carpenters; others became fishermen; and others worked for hire in other ways. In process of time they raised places of worship of their own, from their own body. They led a harmless life, and gained the character of an industrious and honest people from their white neighbours. A few years afterwards the land in Nova Scotia being found too poor to answer, and the climate too cold for their constitutions, a number of them, to the amount of between thirteen and fourteen hundred, volunteered to form a new colony, which was then first thought of, at Sierra Leone. Accordingly, having been conveyed there, they realized the object in view; and they are to be found there, they or their descendants, most of them independent, and some of them in affluent circumstances, at the present day.

A second case may be taken from what occurred at the close of the second, or last American war. It may be remembered that a large British naval force, having on board a powerful land force, sailed in the year 1814, to make a descent on the coast of the Southern States of America. The British

army, when landed, marched to Washington, and burnt most of its public buildings. It was engaged also at different times with the American army in the field. During these expeditions, some hundreds of slaves in these parts joined the British standard by invitation. When the campaign was over, the same difficulty occurred about disposing of these as in the former case. It was determined at length to ship them to Trinidad as *free labourers*. But here, that is, at Trinidad, an objection was started against receiving them, but on a different ground from that which had been started in the similar case in Nova Scotia. The planters of Trinidad were sure that no free negroes would ever work, and therefore that the slaves in question would, if made free and settled among them, support themselves by *plunder*. Sir Ralph Woodford, however, the governor of the island resisted the outcry of these prejudices. He received them into the island, and settled them where he supposed the experiment would be most safely made. The result has shown his discernment. These very men, formerly slaves in the Southern States of America, and afterwards emancipated in a body at Trinidad, are now earning their own livelihood, with so much industry and good conduct that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away.

A third case may comprehend those Negroes, who lately formed what we call our West Indian black regiments. Some of these had been originally purchased in Africa, not as slaves, but recruits, and others in Jamaica and elsewhere. They had all served as soldiers in the West Indies. At length certain of these regiments were transported to Sierra Leone and disbanded there, and the individuals composing them received their discharge as *free men*. This happened in the spring of 1819. *Many hundreds* of them were set at liberty at once upon this occasion. Some of these were afterwards marched into the interior, where they founded Waterloo, Hastings, and other villages. Others were shipped to Isles de Los, where they made settlements in like manner. Many, in both cases, took with them their wives, which they had brought from the West Indies, and others selected wives from the natives on the spot. They were all settled upon grants given them by the Government. It appears from accounts received from Sir Charles McCarthy, the governor of Sierra Leone, that they have conducted themselves to his satisfaction;

and that they will prove a valuable addition to that colony.

A fourth case may comprehend what we call the *captured Negroes* in the colony now mentioned. These are totally distinct from those either in the first or in the last of the cases which have been mentioned. It is well known that these were taken out of slave ships captured at different times from the commencement of the abolition of the slave trade to the present moment, & that on being landed they were made free. After having been recruited in their health they were marched in bodies into the interior, where they were taught to form villages and to cultivate land for themselves. They were made free as they were landed from the vessels, from fifty to two or three hundred at a time. They occupy at present twelve towns, in which they have both their churches and their schools. Regents Town having been one of the first established, containing about thirteen hundred souls, stands foremost in improvement, and has become a pattern for industry and good example. The people there have now fallen entirely into the habits of English society. They are decently and respectably dressed. They attend divine worship regularly. They exhibit an orderly and moral conduct. In their town little shops are now beginning to make their appearance; and their lands show the marks of extraordinary cultivation. Many of them, after having supplied their own wants for the year, have a surplus produce in hand for the purchase of superfluities or comforts.

(To be continued.)

Extract of a communication from the British King, recently laid before Parliament.

"My lords and gentlemen:—His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that he has not been inattentive to the desire expressed by the house of commons in the last session of parliament, that means should be devised for ameliorating the condition of the negro slaves in the West Indies.

"His majesty has directed the necessary information relating to this subject to be laid before you.

"His majesty is confident that you will afford your best attention and assistance to any proposition which may be submitted to you, for promoting the moral improvement of the negroes, by an extended plan of religious instruction, and by such other

measures as may gradually conduce to the same end.

"But his majesty earnestly recommends to you to treat the whole subject with the calmness and discretion which it demands.

"To excite exaggerated expectations in those who are the objects of your benevolence, would be as fatal to their welfare as to that of their employers.

"And his majesty assures him that you will bear in mind that where the correction of a long standing and complicated system, and the safety of large classes of his majesty's subjects are involved, that course of proceeding alone is likely to attain practical good, and to avoid aggravation of evil, in which regard shall be paid to considerations of justice, and in which caution shall temper zeal."

THE SLAVE PREACHER.

A letter from a member of the Society of Friends at Philadelphia, published in the (London) Christian Observer, relates the following anecdote.

"A little anecdote which I lately heard, and which is closely connected with the subject of my letter, may probably interest thee:—A pious and worthy Episcopalian clergyman, who now fills the office of bishop for two dioceses in this country, was, in early life, a youth of dissipated and immoral character. Having an estate, and living in luxury and idleness, he gave way to a levity of disposition which prompted him to ridicule sacred things. Dining one evening with a party of gentlemen, they sat late drinking wine and smoking segars; and, with a view of promoting merriment, he went for one of his slaves, who was a pious preacher among the Methodists, and ordered him to preach a sermon for the company. The good man hesitated to obey; but after a time of silence on his part, he at last began to address them. But, instead of the mirth which they anticipated from the ignorance and simplicity of the poor man, the zeal and fervour of his discourse produced a contrary effect. Instead of raising the loud and vacant laugh, instead of prompting ther impious revelry, the solemnity of the truths which he delivered sank deeply into the hearts of some of the company, and, through the divine blessing, carried conviction to the mind of his master, who from that time, became of a serious character, took upon him the clerical office from an apprehension of duty, and continues an ornament to his profession."

MUSES' BOWER.

Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—

Of the bond-man as well as the free;

Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,

Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.

In requesting you to publish the following lines, I disclaim even the most distant idea of treating the subject of religion with levity. A slave holding preacher of the gospel* is an anomaly in the religious world: Corruption must sit like an incubus upon his breast, and sheer hypocrisy hold dominion o'er his heart. While a true gospel minister should be treated, with a respect bordering on veneration, the "wolf in sheep's clothing" is a legitimate object of satire's sharpest sting. And not only the preacher, who is concerned in perpetuating the horrible guilt of oppression, is an object of severe rebuke; but every religious professor, who, either by a written or an oral communication, publicly makes known that he is such, and habitually diversifies his daily employment in praising God, and tyrannizing over his fellow creatures, should have the mirror held up to his view, by which he might plainly see his own deformity. I have no enmity towards any religious sect in our country. I am a friend to all honest men, and a declared foe to vice, in whatever garb it may be arrayed. The article is somewhat altered from the original, now in my possession.

VERITAS.

UNION.

Come saints and sinners hear me tell
How sordid priests treat Jack and Nell,
And wish philanthropists in hell,
Because they love their "neighbors" well
And plead for heavenly union.

Like Baalam's ass, they roar again,
Repeating o'er their text again,
And speak of lucre with disdain—
Their brethren buy and sell for gain,
And talk of heavenly union.

Some "wolves" can blate and baa like goats,
And gorge black sheep, and speak of notes,
Adorn their backs with gay black coats,
And seize poor negroes by the throats,
Then sing of heavenly union.

They'll blame the man that takes a drain,

* The writer alludes, no doubt, to a minister of the gospel who is an advocate of the system of slavery.

Editor.

Denounce him if he steals a lamb,
Yet rob old Toney, Doll and Sam
Of all their rights, O shame! O shame!

A vile kidnapping union!

They'll sell their brother at a word;
And make him fast with hempen cord;
And fight and scold in loud discord;
Yet they "are happy in the Lord"—

With handcuff, hemp and union!!

They'll, canting, sing a sacred song,
Repeat a prayer a half-hour long,
And teach the right, and do the wrong,
Hailing the brother, sister throng
With epithets of union.

We wonder how such "saints" can sing,
And "praise the Lord upon the wing,"
Half starve their slaves, and beat and sling,
And to the wool and marmion cling
In conscience' guilty union!

Jehovah sure will never bless
The wages of uprightness;
For those whose'er mankind oppress
Shall one day sink in dire distress,
Then where is all their union?

He who can rob and whip and cheat
With bloody hand, and heart ingrate,
When it shall be too late; too late,
Shall burn in never-ending hate
To a preaching, fighting union;

Tho' he has told of things above—
Of grace and faith and hope and love,
And for the upper chambers strove,
While in huge chains poor Cuff he drove;
He'll sigh for heavenly union.

From the Saturday Evening Post.

A DREAM.

I dream'd—and 'twas of poor oppressed men,
Who chained once, are never blest again;
'Till pitying death with unoppos'd control,
Plucks from despair, the drooping wretched
soul.

Methought, a mother wept an only child,
A frantic orphan begg'd with fervour wild;
A brother, sister; still in parting strove,
And ah! a wife—a husband plead for love!
But all in vain—unfeeling monsters, how
Could ye thus sear affection's bleeding brow,
Behold them torn with wild distracting fears,
Oh, see them mingling prayers with melting
tears. [bliss]

But when they saw the wreck of all their
Sink in that last, delicious, parting kiss,
Their love, their peace exchanged for scenes,
like this,

One wild, united, agonizing scream
Arous'd me from the painful, sick'n'g
dream.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence, U. S.*

No. 13. Vol. III.

FIFTH MONTH, 1824.

WHOLE No. 41.

For several editorial paragraphs, see page 165.

MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

The following Addresses, from the Greenville Branch of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, were reported by committees which had been previously appointed for that special purpose, and ordered, after receiving the approbation of the Inspecting Committee, to be published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The editors of Newspapers, friendly to the cause, particularly in the western country, are also respectfully solicited to give the first an insertion.

Never, since the formation of our government, has a more important question been agitated, in either of the States, than that now pending in Illinois, viz.—*Shall the people of this rare country set bounds to the extension of slavery, or shall they not?*—A most astonishing apathy prevails. The Press in the other States is, for the most part, as silent as the grave! All are deeply interested—EVERY CITIZEN IN THE UNITED STATES WILL BE ENTITLED TO A VOICE IN THE MATTER—then why not speak out, even now? But, say some, let the infatuated creatures, who are so lost to a sense of propriety as to advocate the introduction of slavery in that section of country, go on—they cannot succeed, for the United States' Courts would decide against it. This may be the case, if matters shall be carried thus far; but, while an avowed advocate of Slavery is at the head of our Judiciary, it is altogether uncertain how it would eventuate. And, further—"An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Let the voice of the nation be heard upon the subject. Let the friends of Freedom in that state be encouraged to hold out in opposing the encroachments of the many-headed monster.

ADDRESS,

FROM THE GREENEVILLE BRANCH OF THE
MANUMISSION SOCIETY OF TENNESSEE,
TO THE CITIZENS OF ILLINOIS.
FRIENDS AND BROTHERN,

In contemplating on the wonderful changes that have taken place in the political world, within a few years, as relates to the

rights and immunities of nations, societies, and individuals, we have observed, with delight, the rapid advances of that heaven-born principle which proclaims to men the glad tidings of freedom and peace, and aims at the total overthrow of all those towering fabrics of superstition and tyranny that have been reared for the unholy purpose of rendering the greater part of mankind miserable, that a few may riot in pomp and splendor—in luxury and extravagance. And when we call to mind the great anxiety that was manifested; the toils and hardships endured; the many disasters encountered, and the profusion of blood and treasure which was expended, by our fathers, that they might bequeath to us the glorious and invaluable heritage of LIBERTY, unincumbered, with aught that might in anywise tend to molest or disturb us in the quiet possession and tranquil enjoyment thereof, we are led to view with ardent solicitude whatever may be supposed to have a bearing upon the perpetuity of our free institutions.

We have but too much evidence of the alarming fact, that, notwithstanding their loud and pious protestations against the toleration of that unhallowed spirit of usurpation which seeks to rob our fellow creatures of their inalienable privileges, there are many among us who, "feeling power and forgetting right," since they have freed themselves from the shackles of foreign domination, are ready and willing to rivet the fetters of unconditional servitude upon men and women, and even to bind the chains of perpetual bondage on their posterity! It is with mingled emotions of shame, of sorrow, and of gloomy apprehension for the future glory and permanence of our republic, and the weal of future generations, that we reflect on these things. We, therefore, trust that you will not deem it impertinent in us, as fellow-members of the great political family of republican freemen, which has declared to the world that this nation shall be the "home of the free," and "an asylum for the oppressed," to offer a few remarks on the peculiarity of the situation in which you are at present placed.

It is with deep concern that we perceive a party has risen up among you, possessed of a considerable degree of wealth and influ-

ence, which has for its object the re-establishment of the cruel and anti-republican system of *personal slavery*, in your State. We will not insult you by insinuating a belief that *many* of you have so far lost sight of justice, and your true interest, after having very recently decided positively against it, as to become reconciled to a measure so fraught with moral and political evil, and so dangerous to the peace and happiness of your children.—But that there are a few, who have intruded themselves among you, and are disposed to act upon this principle, is self-evident. These are fully aware, that to carry their design into execution; they must resort to the meanest artifices, and the most dishonest inventions, to ensure the success of their favourite project. Like the basest of tyrants, in every age of the world, since oppression was first reduced to practice, they look upon all manner of dissembling as a virtue, if it brings them nearer to their object. Whatever may be their intended victim, they pursue it with an eye that never winks, an industry that never tires, and a perseverance that never shakes, through every walk, watching its every movement, and are ready prepared to fasten upon it, the moment a favourable opportunity may offer. It is to warn you to beware of the insidious arts, the sly machinations and the deep laid schemes of those unprincipled intriguers, that we have presumed to address you.

In your public acts, you have given sufficient proof of your undeviating attachment to our republican form of government; and you have also shown your abhorrence of the monstrous principle which dooms to unmerited, perpetual slavery any portion of the human species. Arise! then, we beseech you, and, in a voice of thunder, proclaim to the enemies of human rights that, the rich soil of your state does not require the crimson tear of oppressed humanity to fertilize it; neither shall it be polluted by the daring tread of an *unchained tyrant*! Let oppressors know that bounds are set to their unchastened ambition. *Let your decision, at the approaching election, be such as forever to blast the hopes of those who are now aiming to deceive you*—who, professing to have the good of the community in view, and even the cause of humanity at heart! are striving to inundate your plains with a degraded, and almost brutalized population, in order that *they* may live in ease and affluence, regardless of the solid advantages of a well regulated policy, the future growth and prosperity of the country, or, the happi-

ness of the people, a few years hence. Who can for a moment listen to the siren song of “humanity” from the lips of an advocate of slavery? It is used precisely as a Spanish Inquisitor uses the cloak of religion. Never was a more wicked plan devised to blind the eyes of an unsuspecting mortal, than this. The first regular slave trader, who sailed under the British flag, averred that it would be an act of “humanity” to remove the natives of Africa to a country where they would become acquainted with the Christian Religion &c.—The trade was permitted; and an hundred millions of human beings, perhaps, have been murdered, or rendered miserable by it!!!—Again: It is asserted by some, that it would be an act of humanity, in us, to scatter the slave population over a greater extent of country, that they might receive better treatment than they otherwise may be expected to; whereas they know that it would do away the anxiety now manifested, in many places, to abolish the system of slavery and to send the blacks away—that it would be the means of keeping open a market, in this country, for the human plunder of slave pirates, both at home and abroad—that the number of blacks would increase in less than a century, perhaps, to **FIFTEEN OR TWENTY MILLIONS!** when it would, in the nature of things, be *impossible* to prevent them from obtaining their liberty by force, and becoming the most troublesome, ferocious, and deadly enemies!

These are not the idle dreams of a fertile fancy.—They are sober inferences, drawn from matters of fact, with which those gentry cannot be unacquainted. It is, then, plainly apparent that they have not the good of their country in view; but that they are swayed by mercenary, selfish motives, disregarding the welfare either of the present or future generations. Even were they to agree that the system of slavery should be tolerated *only for a limited period*, this would be their dernier resort; and they would be as ready, at any future time, to break such an engagement, as they now are to violate their most solemn promises; to destroy the moral obligation of treaties; and to trample on the ordinance of Congress, the conditions of which they formally accepted, when the State of Illinois was received into the Union. By all that is dear to you, as freemen, we conjure you to watch well the movements of those who have shewn a disposition to act thus. We, in common with your fellow-citizens of the other states, feel deeply interested in the

contest in which you are engaged. This is a most important and critical juncture in our national affairs. The advancement of reformation, and the improvement in our republican system, met with a check in the acceptance of the Missouri Constitution; and it remains with you to say whether the reaction shall destroy the hopes of the philanthropist, and ensure to the enemies of human liberty a signal triumph; or whether the advocates of universal emancipation will again take a firm stand on the margin of Ohio's gentle wave, and the brink of Mississippi's impetuous tide, and, with the voice of power and authority, prohibit the MONSTER, SLAVERY from imprinting his footstep on your shore. All eyes are turned to you, at this moment. Your fellow-citizens, in other sections of the country, are waiting, with breathless anxiety, to hear the result of your determination.

Had not the fatal example of many other countries been held up, as a mirror, to our view, we should have less cause to wonder at the delusion that prevails, in some parts of this Union, respecting the subject before us, and which has involved some of our greatest statesmen in the labyrinthian mazes of error and inconsistency.—But while the "scenes of St. Domingo" are yet perceptible to the view; while the horrid recital of the *Richmond* and *Charleston* plots is still echoed and reverberated in notes of admonition, loud; while the most dreadful accounts of insurrection, murder and massacre by the degraded colored population, in other parts of the American continent and islands, are flowing in upon us, at every arrival, what folly! what madness! what inconceivable infatuation must sway the breast of him who would introduce into the bosom of his own country, now happily exempt from the cursed entail, such a horrible state of things!!!—But no moral force whatever can operate upon those who, after having entered into a solemn compact, and made a formal engagement, never to suffer the foul pollution of personal slavery to approach the threshold of their dominions, are so soon found essaying to nullify their acts, and endeavouring to open this Pandora's box, from whence innumerable evils of every name and hue would emanate. Though the ruin of their country must follow, as an inevitable consequence, they heed it not. The public good, when such men are at the helm of affairs, will always be made to yield to their views of self aggrandizement; & the liberties of all are thus placed in jeopardy. We will not enter into a detailed state-

ment of the rapid progress which the principle of individual liberty is making in other parts of this continent. You have, undoubtedly, been apprized of the circumstance that Mexico and several of the late Spanish provinces in South America, have abolished the system of personal slavery; and that the British government has also commenced the great and important work in her colonies. While these things are performing, how degrading would it be to the character of this republic, if the system of slavery should hereafter be extended to one of those states in which it has been hitherto prohibited!—*Where should we hide our shame, if MONARCHISTS were suffered to outstrip us in the holy work of extending and applying the principles of Universal Emancipation?*—We speak from experience of the evils of slavery. Our own particular section of country is cursed with it. The light of reason and republican philanthropy, however, is spreading among us; and by the exertion of our fellow-citizens, under the direction of an all-wise Providence, we hope to eradicate this noxious plant, though it has taken deep root in our soil. Some of our sister states to the northward, in which slavery is tolerated, it is hoped are, also, nearly ripe for a change of policy in this respect. *Suffer not, we entreat you, the want of attention and exertion, on your part, to damp the ardor of the friends of humanity in other sections of our country.* Should slavery be admitted in the State of Illinois, it would probably retard the glorious work of emancipation in this Union a half a century, at least; and we leave to others the dreadful task of depicting its inevitable consequences. We shall not yet, however, despair of the final triumph of Virtue and Freedom over the united efforts of Avarice and Tyranny, in your State.

In conclusion, we tender to you the assurances of our unfeigned respect, and fraternal regard.

Signed by order—

BENJAMIN LUNDY, President.

Attest,

WILLIAM W. WOODS, Secretary.

ADDRESS

From the Greenville Branch of the Mission Society of Tennessee, to the people of the United States.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

The philanthropic exertions which are making in many parts of the Christian community, to improve the condition of man-

kind, and to propagate the true principles of Christianity, must be a source of gratification to every bosom which cherishes the benign feelings of "good will to men." Though we are sensible that much has been done, and that a lively interest is taken in the good cause, yet we believe that for so great a harvest, the labourers are comparatively few. Under these impressions, we attempt to address you on a subject which we think inseparably connected with the successful operations of that gospel, to the spreading of which so many of the great and the good are so much devoted—we mean the improvement of the condition, and the final emancipation of the descendants of Africans, who are now held in bondage in our country.

We will pass over the subject of the right of every man to that freedom in which he was created, and endeavour to draw a faint picture of the effects of slavery on society in general, and the impediments it throws in the way of the spread of the gospel.

Wherever the paralyzing hand of slavery is laid, the effect is plainly to be traced in the snail-like progress of improvement. Every thing seems to bear the signs of neglect. Instead of that order and advantageous arrangement which is the beauty of a country, the delight of the eye, and the profit of the owners, we see the land in a poor state of cultivation, and property going to waste for want of care. In short, every object wears a palsied appearance, and manifests a pernicious course of policy, which strikingly resembles the degraded condition of those enslaved beings who constitute the labouring class of the community. These form but a small portion of the evils arising out of the system of slavery. The morals of the people are corrupted; habits of idleness are engendered; extravagance, luxury and dissipation become prevalent. Thus, the regard for virtue and intelligence become extinguished, while vice and ignorance rear their unhallowed heads, and, with a shout of triumph, drown the "still small voice" of evangelical religion.

We by no means wish to discourage the laudable attempt to carry the "glad tidings" of the gospel to distant, heathen lands;—but it must be obvious to the rational, reflecting mind, that the circumstance of our holding in bondage so large a number of human beings, has a powerful and deleterious effect on the benevolent exertions of the heralds of the cross, in their attempts to teach the Christian religion among the idolators of

foreign, uncivilized lands; especially in those countries whose native children have been torn from their homes, and from the bosoms of their friends and relatives, to gratify the insatiable thirst for gold which prompted the natives of Christian countries to become traders in human flesh. Though widely different the mission of the disciple of Christ from that of the unprincipled man-stealer, yet, it cannot be expected he will be received with the confidence which is necessary to insure the cause in which he is engaged a successful operation. He came from the country of the kidnapper, from the land where the groans of the enslaved Africans ascend—he is a Christian—and the same appellation is borne by those who have dragged their brothers and sisters into slavery. These are some of the difficulties which the bondage of the Africans throw in the way of Christianizing the heathen nations. They are not the phantoms of an enthusiastic imagination. Experience has proven them to be substantially true. And while we applaud the zeal so generally manifested in the cause of religion, by the youthful, as well as the aged, we cannot help regretting that a subject so vitally important to the cause, as that of a regeneration in the condition of our African slaves, is passed over with so little attention by some professors, and treated with so much coldness and disrespect by others.

Professors of Christianity!—to you we would particularly appeal. To you the world looks for patterns of honesty, virtue, and a becoming zeal in the cause of justice and philanthropy. Awake from your state of insensibility to the wrongs of an oppressed people. Wash your hands from the stain of slavery, and show to the multitude that you are desirous to act the part of the good Samaritan. Your example will have a powerful effect; and the most favorable result may be expected from your labors.

It is with the view of aiding in the adoption of the most efficient measures for the improvement in the condition, and the final abolition of African slavery in our country, that we have formed ourselves into an association. We are aware that the object in view is one which must take time to accomplish.—It is not the work of a day, or a year. But in proportion to the magnitude of the undertaking, so should be the exertions used. We wish to call the attention of the patriot and the philanthropist to the subject. And, aided by the superintending hand of Divine Providence, may we not hope that the great work of African

emancipation will, in due time, be effected.

Signed by order—

B. LUNDY, *President.*

WM. W. WOODS, *Secretary.*

EDITORIAL.

The Minutes of the late session of the American Convention, are concluded in this Number. Some of the addresses will, also, be inserted as soon as room can be conveniently afforded.

It will be seen that a committee was appointed to consider the propriety of establishing a periodical work, to be under the control of the Convention; but that it reported adversely. To some, who are not acquainted with the course pursued by me, upon that occasion, it may appear that I may have acted from selfish motives.—A little explanation would, therefore, seem to be necessary.

The motion was made by myself, in the first instance, to consider the subject; and, after the committee was appointed, being one of the number, I advocated the policy and expediency of the measure, until I found it was impossible to succeed, at that time, as a majority were opposed to recommending it, for the reasons stated in the report. It is unnecessary to say any thing further at present.

Owing to the length of several important articles, in this Number, the extracts promised on the subject of the Presidential election, are deferred.

COLONIZATION.

The editor of this paper has very recently received, from his friends at Washington City, two copies of a heavy pamphlet of 176 pages, containing the Seventh Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, together with a mass of very important matter connected with the subject of slavery, the slave-trade, &c. The first convenient opportunity will be embraced to, acquaint the readers of this work with the views of a portion of the members of that association, as lately expressed, in their official capacity. In this pamphlet there is much that tends to flatter the hopes of philanthropists, while, at the same time, the propriety of a renewal of exertion, on their part, becomes more and more apparent.

HAYTI.

A very interesting correspondence between a gentleman of Massachusetts and

the Secretary general of the Haytian Republic, has been communicated for publication in this work, and will appear in the next Number.—It was received a little too late for insertion in the present.

"MONARCHUS AND REPUBLICUS."

The length of this dialogue, it is hoped, will not deter any one from reading it. It will be finished in next Number.

I received a letter, a short time since, complaining that the argument was not sufficiently supported on the side of Slavery.—Let, then, *others* undertake it. The pages of the paper are open to them.

ANOTHER LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATION.

It is said that the following important resolution was lately introduced in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, by a Committee on the subject of slavery.—To use the language of the editor of the "Friend of Peace"—*This may well be regarded as an auspicious occurrence, not only as it is an important and pacific measure, but as it indicates the progress of light and philanthropy.*

"Resolved, That it is expedient that a plan should be devised for combining the efforts of the general and state governments of the United States, in order to procure the gradual emancipation of the slave population of the Union; without any infringement of state rights; and that for the purpose of concentrating public opinion upon this important subject, it should be earnestly recommended to the attention of Congress and of the Legislatures of the several States."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MONARCHUS & REPUBLICUS.

(Continued from page 121.)

Mon. Many of our slaveholding christians are very zealous for the conversion of sinners; and do much to promote it, by spreading the scriptures throughout the country, and enforcing the reading of them, as a subject that is essential to salvation; and some of them contribute largely for the support of foreign missions—surely these things are evidences of true religion.

Rep. Pious souls, truly! Have these people any special authority for enforcing the reading of the scriptures?

Mon. Yes,—a positive command: "search the scriptures."

Rep. And do they compel their slaves to search the scriptures?

Mon. No,—they do not learn them to read, lest they should get to know their

condition as slaves, and become uneasy, and less manageable; and partly because their owners cannot well afford the time and expense.

Rep. You say that some of them contribute largely for the support of foreign missions,—do they send missionaries into their kitchens, and quarters?

Mon. I have never known an instance of this; it is the heathen at a distance, that are the object of their zeal and philanthropy.

Rep. These are very extraordinary evidences of religion, indeed! They enjoin it on their free neighbors to read the scriptures as a point of duty essential to salvation, and refuse to let their slaves learn to read, that they might be saved! They contribute much out of the sole earnings of their slaves, towards the conversion of the heathen at a distance, and keep these kitchen heathen in profound ignorance of the scriptures, and of a state of rewards and punishments hereafter, lest they should be so enlightened as to see that they are imposed upon—in a word, they use the means (on their own principles) for their slaves to go to eternal destruction, while they are hypocritically using means for the salvation of themselves and others. Such christians as these are far worse than the Mahometans, for they take some pains to instruct their slaves in the doctrines of the Koran, and if they become proselytes to them, they give them their freedom.

Mon. I have known some professed manumissionists in the constant practice of going to hear these slave-holding preachers; and if they thought them to be as corrupt as you do, why did they bid them "God speed in their evil deeds," by going to hear them? But the day is again far spent—I will retire, and wait for your reply till to-morrow.

Rep. Do so, and avail yourself of all the advantages you can.

FIFTH DAY.

Mon. I have ventured out this morning, to meet your reply to the observations I made last evening, on manumissionists' going to hear slaveholding preachers.

Rep. Unlimited charity, is as dangerous as blind zeal; and if these manumissionists' practices had been consistent with their principles, instead of countenancing such impostors, by going to hear them, they would have used legal exertions, not only to have them silenced, but put out of the synagogues; and if this could not be effected, to

have withdrawn themselves from their communion.

Slave holding preachers, and slaveholding professors of religion, are the greatest enemies to the removal of the curse of African Slavery from our country, that the prince of darkness has in all his legions; for such deceivers, by putting on the cloak of religion and sanctity, set themselves up as patterns for others to imitate, and hence it is, that without any further examination, many imbibed their corrupt principles, and adopt their unjust practices for the sake of gain, and so settle down on the false hope, that if their leaders and patterns are in the highway to heaven, so are they; nor is it to be thought a subject of wonder, that if the blind are thus leading the blind, they should both fall into the ditch.

Mon. There were slaves in the Apostle's days, for he commands servants to be obedient to their masters, and, to serve them with all fidelity.

Rep. Yes, and such of them that were christians and belonged to pagan masters, he charged to serve with fidelity, and to perform their duty, that the christian religion might not be dishonored. There may be servants that are not slaves—it being the custom in some countries, to call all hirelings, servants; and these, no doubt, he charges in that precept, to do their duty, and honestly earn their wages. But the apostle, also commanded masters to give to their servants that which was just and equal—to pay them their wages when they had earned them, and not to do as some that the Apostle James complained of did, who defrauded the reapers of their fields, of their wages, and suffered their cries to enter into the ears of the God of Sabaoth. But if the christian masters, whom the apostle charges to give to their servants that which was just and equal, had been the masters of slaves, the charge would have been to emancipate them, seeing that it is just and equal in the sight of God, that every man should possess his freedom, which is an attribute of his nature, as no man can love his neighbor as himself, or do as he would that others should do to him, and yet withhold from them that inestimable treasure.

Mon. If slave-holding is as criminal as you suppose it is, how did it happen that so many slave holders, both preachers and others, have been admitted to church membership, in some places making a majority; and all, slave holders and non-slave holders, joining at the same communion table to celebrate the Lord's supper, as if they were of

"one heart, and of one soul;" and even in some cases, making use of certain signs as a religious act, declarative of their entire christian fellowship?

Rep. This is conclusive evidence that the moral taste of the non-slave holding professors was adulterated, and their churches miserably corrupted, or if it had not been the case, I presume, that a slave holder, nor any other public offender against the laws of justice and morality, would ever have been admitted into membership.

Mon. Can it be possible that such great professors as many slave holders are, would be so attentive to the duties of religion as the most of them appear to be, by attending on public worship, the ordinances of God's house, and prayers, and yet be destitute of true gospel religion?

Rep. Altogether as possible, I apprehend, as for a wild Arab of the deserts to be as equally attentive to the ordinances and religion of Mahomet, and to the hours of prayer which he appointed, and yet, instead of being in possession of true gospel religion, continues to be an avaricious enslaver and oppressor of his fellow creatures, whenever he has it in his power.

Mon. Do you place the religion of an American slave-holder upon an equality with that of a wild Arab, or other Mahometan professor?

Rep. Not quite:—the American having more light, is less excusable, and of course, more criminal. When the slave of a Mahometan turns *Mussulman*, he is entitled to his freedom, and is restored to full citizenship; but to the eternal disgrace of our high professing and enlightened nominal *christians*, there is no advantage derived to their slaves, by becoming *christians*, or even Archangels, if it were possible!—They suffer such to come to the same communion table, after themselves have done, but still keep them in bondage, and on a level with their cattle and hogs, notwithstanding that it is pretty generally a given up point by all sects of professors, that slavery is a crime of no small magnitude.

Mon. But their creeds are so very different!

Rep. Their creeds may differ even so widely, yet from the similarity of their works, there is reason to believe that their principles are the same, seeing that men's actions are better indexes of their real principles, than their words are.

Mon. And so you consider them all a set of downright hypocrites?

Rep. By no means:—but I consider

them as men and women that have imposed upon themselves by substituting something in the place of religion, that is not religion, and fancying themselves in the way to heaven without producing or bearing the fruits of justice and equity in their lives and conversation, which true religion requires, as well as devotional exercises; but instead of it, were living on the gain of oppression, which they had by violence drained from the toil and sweat of their degraded and illiterate fellow men and women, some of whom were their acknowledged brethren in Christ. And lastly, imposed upon by those who received them into church communion—flattering them that they were Christians by still holding them in membership, without so much as hinting to them the dangerous situation they were in.

Mon. From what you have said, first and last, I am led to suppose that the religion which you would recommend, must be a very unpopular one, and such as but few in our day would be willing to adopt:

Rep. The religion that I would recommend, is not, I acknowledge, of the most fashionable kind; and yet it is neither more nor less, than the religion of the New Testament, however unpopular it may have become. And now, if you please, we will compare some of its precepts and doctrines with the practice of slave holding, and see how they agree.

Mon. Let us attend to the comparison;—proceed if you please.

Rep. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation;" he that saith he abideth in him (Christ) ought also to walk, even as he walked." Now, if it be impossible to keep our neighbor, with all his progeny in slavery, and at the same time love him as we do ourselves;—if it is impossible to withhold from our brother his natural right, of which he had been robbed, when it was in our power to restore it to him, and yet be doing to him as we would that he should do to us, on a change of situation, then it is impossible for a slave holder to have true religion. If Christians are commanded to give no just grounds of offence to any man, either Jew or Gentile, or to the Church of God, and also, to be holy in all their deportment, or acts of life; then, unless slave holding is a holy act, and it is not offensive or injurious to the rights and privileges of any man, Jew or Gentile, but is fully reconcilable to the spirit and purity of

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

Christ and his holy religion, slave-holders are not holy, nor can they be Christians, in the true sense of the word, be their professions of it ever so great.

Again, if he that saith he is in Christ or a Christian, ought so to walk as Christ did, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth, and who, instead of coming into this world to bring men and women into bondage, came to *preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound*, both in a spiritual and temporal point of view, I presume, that all mankind should experience their primeval rights. Then, those that act contrary to the example which he set, and to the precepts that he gave, by living on the labor of their brethren without wages, withholding from those that are in bondage, their just deliverance; and instead of opening the door of freedom to their imprisoned fellow-men, consign them and their posterity to perpetual bondage and degradation, are, in my humble opinion, so far from having any part or lot in true gospel religion, that they cannot be charged with professing, even common heathen morality.

(Conclusion in next Number.)

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE—

Let us, who feel ourselves bound by the laws of God, and the Constitution of the United States, use every means, consistent therewith, to mete out justice to all men, and thereby do away the oppression of the many thousands of our fellow-mortals that are held in slavery, in direct opposition to republicanism, and which the laws of God do not sanction. Are they not immortal?—Has not the inspiration of the Most High given them understanding?—Have they not, like ourselves, souls that will live forever; that no length of existence can waste; that no labour can exhaust; that no guilt, or suffering, or death can destroy? Shall we not, fellow-citizens, labour to restore to these people their just rights?—Are they not our brethren?—Was not their primeval ancestors also ours?—Does not their blood flow in our veins?—And shall we refuse to help

* Whether *their blood flows in our veins*, or not, it is very evident that *the blood of many of our citizens flows in theirs!* EVERY PERSON THAT SELLS A MULATTOE, IS GUILTY OF TRADING IN THE BLOOD OF A WHITE MAN!!!—The apathy manifested by the

them, when they lift their supplicating voice—when they cry to us, as they now do, to pity their distress?

I address those who call themselves Christians, and profess to be governed by the precepts of the gospel, and the example of the Redeemer, who came into the world to die for sinners of every nation, character and complexion. Let us consider, with attention and obedience, the commandment given to us by the founder of our religion:—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Are not Africans and their descendants men; and does not the command that our Saviour left on record, include them?—Indeed, does not their blood cry to him for justice? While it is well with you, put away the evil of your doings from before his face, and avert the impending storm, destined to scourge those who persist in stubborn disobedience to the law of Justice, which is the law of God. If this great national evil be not done away, it will, assuredly, call down the awful judgments of Heaven upon us, sooner or later.

ISAAC SMITH.

Approved by the Inspecting Committee of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, April 10th, 1824.

STEPHEN BROOKS, Ch'm.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

In the British West Indies.

Earl Bathurst in the British house of Lords, and Mr. Canning in the Commons, have introduced this subject. The following are the provisions for the amelioration of the slave condition:

1. The use of the whip is to be utterly abolished in regard to female slaves.

2. The whip is no longer to be borne by the

people in general on this subject, furnishes the most incontrovertible evidence that nothing but the power is wanting, to establish a rule by which we should proclaim ourselves a set of political and moral cannibals, buying and selling, and living upon the sweat and blood of each other!—*Indeed, many now enslave their brothers, their sisters, and even THEIR OWN CHILDREN!!!* Alas! for the state of our moral refinement and political virtue.—My correspondent did not, however, view the matter in this light. He traces our pedigree to those who were preserved in the Ark, at the time of the universal deluge; and his observations must be considered as correct.

Editor.

driver in the field; to be no longer employed as a summary punishment of the male negroes; to be wholly laid aside as a stimulus to labor, and resorted to only as a chastisement for misbehaviour, deliberately proven and recorded.

3. Ample provision is to be made for the religious instruction of the negroes by the appointment of two bishops with regular clergy under them.

4. Marriage is to be encouraged, families never to be separated, and the property of the slave is to be protected by positive law.

5. Banks are to be established, in which the slave may deposit his earnings; the money so placed to be sacred in all cases from the master's grasp.

6. The testimony of slaves, under certain limitations depending on personal character, is to be received in all civil cases except when the master's immediate interests are concerned, and in all criminal cases except when the life of a white person is involved.

7. The slave who has acquired a certain sum of money is to have the power of purchasing his own manumission or that of his wife or child; and thus the father may become the instrument of liberty to his offspring.

With respect to the Slave Trade, the French government had agreed to admit a mutual right of search, if the punishment was to be made severe. The American Government had formerly made the trade piracy and now had admitted a mutual right of search; by which British ships might visit American as well as British ships concerned in the trade: but upon this condition, that British ships should be sent for condemnation to a British tribunal, and American ships to a tribunal of their own countrymen.

Phil. Pap.

DEMERARA.

A gentleman from Demerara has furnished the editor of the Democratic Press with the following information relative to that island:—There are but two Methodist Missionaries in Demerara, neither of whom was ever engaged, or suspected of being engaged, either directly or indirectly in the insurrection; nor was any member of that Society charged with being privy to it, save only two negroes the property of the Governor of the island. They were both tried and acquitted. The Missionary (Mr. Smith) who has lately been pardoned by George the IV was sent out to the West Indies by the London Missionary Society, and not by the Methodist; and it is said that although con-

demned by a courtmartial, he was considered so innocent of the charge preferred, that the Governor and other persons of respectability wrote to the British Government on his behalf, and it is believed it is owing to their representations that the Royal prerogative was exercised in his behalf. The general standing of the Methodists and other Missionaries is so far from having been affected by recent events, that they are now more courted and sought after in Demerara, than at any former period.—*N. Y. Pat.*

From the (Virginia) Pacific Monitor.

Feb. 11th, 1824.

"Negro Tom was tried by a called Court on the 4th inst. and condemned to be hung on the 13th of March next.

The Court fixed his price at five hundred dollars, a tax on the state. Query, what advantage does the state derive from this kind of property? Should not the Legislature, to be consistent, pay friend Jackson for his Bull, which was killed by a caucus of his neighbors?"

[Thus, it will be seen that the Aristocratic interest, in Virginia is wisely managed to pick the pockets of the poor. The slave of a wealthy man is executed because he is considered dangerous to the public, and all those who pay taxes must help to pay the price of him!—Hire a villain to swear against them, and you might hang them by scores—their masters are paid for them—what need they care!!!—*G. U. Eman.*]

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

Minutes of the eighteenth session of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, convened at Philadelphia, on the seventh day of October, 1823.

(CONCLUDED.)

October (10th mo.) 9th—9, A. M.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment—Present: *Rhode-Island*.—Arnold Butsum. *New-York*.—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Robert F. Mott, Dr. John Stearns. *Pennsylvania*.—W. Rawie, Esq. W. Baker Isaac Barton, J. W. Rowland, Philip Price, Jun. Abm. L. Pennock, Roberts Vaux. *Thomas Shipley*, Solomon Temple, John Keating, Jun. Esq. *Delaware*.—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Benjamin Ferris. *Chester County, Pa.*.—Lea Pusey, Abm. Marshall Jun. *Tennessee*.—Benjamin Lundy.

A motion was made and carried, That a Committee be appointed to draft an Address to the several Manumission Societies

in the United States, on the subject of the Abolition of Slavery, and on the rights and protection of people of colour,

The following persons were appointed: Wm. Rawle, Abraham L. Pennock, Ira Cizbe, John Wales, Benjamin Ferris.

The Committee appointed to draft an Address to the various Religious Societies in the United States, requested further time to prepare it, which was granted; and a motion was made and carried, that the said address be presented to the President of this Convention and to the acting committee, for their approbation; and that the President give the address his signature, after the approbation aforesaid is obtained.

Some additional documents were then laid before the Committee by Roberts Vaux, Esq. which were referred to the committee appointed to examine those presented by the same gentleman yesterday; and the said Committee were authorised to report thereon.

A letter from H. Ketchum, Esq. of New-York, was received and laid before the Convention by the President, together with accompanying documents, which were referred to the Committee appointed to examine and report upon similar documents laid before this Convention, yesterday and this morning, by Roberts Vaux, Esq.

A motion was made and carried, That a committee be appointed to memorialize such of the Legislatures of the respective States, as the committee to be appointed, together with the acting committee, may deem proper, requesting their co-operation in procuring the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

The following persons were appointed said Committee: Joseph W. Rowland, Robert F. Mott, William Baker.

The Committee appointed to ascertain the sentiments of the people of South Carolina on the subject of the opinion of Judge Johnson, submitted the following Report, which was ordered to lie on the table.

The Committee appointed to ascertain whether the people of South Carolina have attempted to enforce the law of that state, entitled, "An Act for the better regulation of Free Negroes and Persons of Colour, and for other purposes." Passed in December, 1822, in opposition to the opinion of Judge Johnson, on the unconstitutionality of that law.

REPORT:

That your Committee have received information, that since the passage of that law, a Society, composed of the most influen-

tial men in that state, has been organized for the express purpose of carrying it into effect, and that two persons of colour have actually been, arrested;—one of them imprisoned since the said opinion was given.

The Citizens of other states have also been addressed by an Editor of one of the Charleston papers, expressing the determination of the people of that state to enforce the execution of the law.

Your committee have, therefore, no doubt, that the Law referred to, will be enforced, unless controlled by higher authority; which is respectfully submitted.

Signed,

JOHN STEARNS, Chairman.

A motion was made and carried, That the acting committee be instructed to investigate the state of slavery in the District of Columbia, and, if they judge expedient, to draft a memorial to Congress, or prepare a bill to be introduced into that body, on the subject of Slavery, in the said District, to be submitted to this Convention at its next session.

The following Report was read and adopted:

The Committee to whom were referred the pamphlets and papers laid on the table by Roberts Vaux, and the communication and document received from Hiram Ketchum, Esq.

REPORT:

That having examined the same, they are of opinion that they contain important information of the views and benevolent exertions of our fellow labourers in the cause of emancipation in England; and the Committee suggest, that each Society represented in the Convention, be furnished with one copy of the "Case of the Vigilants," and that the remaining copy, with the other papers, (excepting the document from Hiram Ketchum, Esq. which is to be returned to him) be deposited with the acting committee.

On behalf of the Committee,

ABM. L. PENNOCK, Chairman.

Adjourned, till three o'clock in the afternoon.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, *Present:*

Rhode-Island.—Arnold Buffum, Otis Amidon. *New-York.*—Joshua Underhill, Ira Cizbe, Robert F. Mott. *Pennsylvania.*—Wm. Rawle, Esq. Wm. Baker, Isaac Barton, Jos. W. Rowland, Philip Price Jun. *Abraham L. Pennock, John Keating, Jr. Roberts Vaux, Thomas Shipley, Solomon Temple.* *Delaware.*—Evan Lewis, John Wales,

Benjamin Ferris. *Chester County Pa.*—
Lea Pusey, Abim. Marshall. *Tennessee.*—
Benjamin Lundy.

The Committee appointed to examine into the expediency of establishing a periodical paper, &c. made the following REPORT, which was adopted.

The Committee appointed by the Convention "to take into consideration the expediency of establishing a periodical paper, to be under the direction of the Committee," &c.

REPORT:

That taking into view the facts, that the Convention is dependent for its funds upon the contribution of the several Abolition Societies, and that the long intervals between the different sessions of the Convention, would prevent it from exercising a due superintendence of the press, in relation to the important subject of Slavery.—Your Committee are of opinion, that it is not expedient for the Convention to take upon itself the publication of any periodical work.

On behalf of the Committee.

B. LUNDY, Chairman.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Treasurer be directed to invest such monies of the Convention as may be in his hands, and not subject to any order of the Convention, in such public stock as he may deem best for the interests of this Institution.

A motion was made and carried, That the Address from the London Anti-Slavery Society, and the "Brief View of the nature and effects of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the colonies of Great Britain," be printed as an Appendix to the Minutes of this Convention.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to consider if any, and what measures can be taken by the Convention, to promote the welfare of the free People of Colour in the United States.

The following persons were appointed said Committee:

Joshua Underhill, Otis Ammidon, Abraham Marshall, Jr.

Convention adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Convention met, and adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

October 10th, 1823.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.
Present:

Rhode Island.—Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum. *Do. New-York.*—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Robert F. Mott. *Pennsylvania.*—W. Rawle, Esq. Wm. Baker, Isaac Barton, J. W. Rowland, Philip Price, Jun.

A. L. Pennock, Roberts Vaux, Thomas Shipley, Solomon Temple, John Keating, *Delaware.*—Evan Lewis, Jos. Bringham, Benjamin Ferris. *Chester County, Pa.*—Lea Pusey, Abraham Marshall, Jr. *Tennessee.*—Benjamin Lundy.

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Secretary directed to furnish Evan Lewis with a copy thereon.

Whereas, This Convention, for several years past, have deemed it important to obtain information with respect to the social condition of the people of Hayti; and whereas, our Vice-president, Evan Lewis, has informed us of his intention to visit that island,—

Therefore, Resolved, That the said Evan Lewis be, and is hereby, respectfully requested to obtain all the information in his power on the above interesting subject, and report the same to the Convention at a future session.

The Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the several Manumission Societies in the United States, reported an Essay, which was considered and adopted as follows:

To the Abolition and Manumission Societies in the United States of America.

The American Convention at the close of its present session, believe it their duty to gain to address you on the interesting subjects which have at this time engaged your attention.

Although we have nothing to present you that should flatter us with hopes of great and sudden success in the cause of African Emancipation, yet it is consoling to perceive by accounts received from Europe, South America, and various parts of our own country, that the Friends of Freedom are on the alert, and using the most powerful means to ensure its final triumph. Wilberforce Clarkson, and other veterans in the African cause, have again appeared in the field. New societies are formed and new advocates are raised up, who, with every means of information, and all the advantages of education, talent and pecuniary resources are nobly exerting themselves, not only to mitigate the state of slavery where it exists, but to obtain its complete abolition.

Among the various measures which have been discussed, having for their object the emancipation of the African race in our own country, and their final elevation to the privileges and advantages of their white brethren, there is none that appears more important in its nature, or more likely to produce this desirable result, than teaching

them the mechanic arts and other branches of business; which, when pursued with prudence and industry, insure competence and wealth. In every age of the world, menial servitude has been a state of ignominy, the lot of ignorance or degradation. And while the coloured population of our country aspire to a station no higher than servants, they will, in spite of every human effort to prevent it, be as an inferior order.

In all countries and under every kind of government, wealth and virtue give distinction and insure respect; and under our happy Constitution, which neither confers empty titles, nor entails hereditary honors, wealth & moral virtue stand pre-eminent among the causes that raise us to respect and distinction. If, therefore, the descendants of Africa are ever to attain to a perfect equality of rights and privileges—if they are ever to see the annihilation of degrading distinctions, they must be put into a capacity to acquire and enjoy the advantages of wealth. For this purpose it is necessary they should participate in the more lucrative employments of civil life.

It must be obvious to every friend of African Emancipation, that the present condition of many of those among this poor and despised people who have obtained their liberty, affords to their enemies the strongest arguments against their freedom. Wretchedness arising from poverty, ignorance and vice, is triumphantly pointed at as an irrefutable argument for the continuance of Slavery!

We would, therefore, at this time, particularly and earnestly recommend to the renewed attention of the different Abolition & Mission Societies, the important subject of giving the children of coloured people *literary* instruction, and placing them as apprentices to *useful trades*. The former is essential to a development of their intellectual faculties—the latter to advance their pecuniary interests; and both are necessary to enable them to attain their just rank in civil society. There can be little doubt that a single instance of a wealthy, intelligent and virtuous coloured man, in any neighbourhood, would have a more powerful influence to obliterate idle prejudices, than volumes of abstract reasoning. We fear that the practice of kidnapping free people of colour, is still continued in our country. To this subject we would respectfully call your constant attention.

As the minutes of this Convention will give you a full view of the subjects which have engaged our attention, we shall not

further enlarge on these subjects.

We conclude with exhorting all those who are engaged with us in this important cause, to persevere, with the hope & confidence that although our progress may be apparently slow, and our prospects sometimes discouraging, yet, conformably to the dispensation of a gracious Providence, truth and justice ultimately must prevail.

Signed on behalf, and by order of the Convention.

W. RAWLE, President.

IRA CLIZBE,
THOMAS SHIPLEY, } Secretaries.

October 10th, Afternoon, 1823.

The following Report was read and adopted:

The Committee appointed to consider if any, and what measures can be taken by the Convention to promote the welfare of free people of colour, beg leave to Report, That they have attended to their appointment during the short period which has elapsed since it was made, and respectfully suggest to the Convention, as their opinion, that the object of their appointment is, for the present, sufficiently embraced by the order which the Convention have taken upon the subject generally.

On behalf of the Committee,

J. UNDERHILL, Ch'm.

The following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, a periodical paper has been established, and for some time published by Benjamin Lundy, of Greenville, E. Tennessee, entitled the "Genius of Universal Emancipation;" a paper which, as its title indicates, appears to be devoted to the views that are pursued by this Convention: Therefore, to co-operate in so benevolent an establishment, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the members of societies constituting this Convention, to promote subscriptions to said paper—and that the acting committee be directed to subscribe for ten copies thereof.

A motion was made and carried, that the Convention go into committee of the whole, on the subject of general emancipation.

Lea Pusey was called to Chair, and the committee of the whole reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is not expedient at present to consider the subject.

Resolved, That the plan of a general emancipation be recommended to the acting committee to report thereon at the next session,—which report was adopted by the committee.

A motion was made and carried, that the subjects of the transportation of slaves from one state to another, and the reception of the testimony of slaves in courts of justice, be referred to a special committee, to report to the next Convention.

The following persons were appointed said committee:

Wm. Rawle, Roberts Vaux, J. Keating, Jun. Isaac Barton, Jos. W. Rowland.

The following Resolution was read and adopted:

Resolved, That the Acting Committee cause to be printed and distributed, the usual number of the proceedings of this Convention, and likewise have the Address to the Abolition and Manumission Societies published in the news-papers.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Select Council of this City, for the use of their Council Chamber.

A communication was received from the Providence Manumission Society, appointing the Rev. Dr. Rodgers a member of this Convention, who appeared and took his seat therein.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be returned to the President, William Rawle, Esq. for the impartial and dignified manner with which he has presided over the meetings of this Convention.

The Minutes were then read and approved, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

BLACK LIST.

HUMANITY! HUMANITY!

It is the general opinion in some parts of the United States, and of Europe, that the system of slavery does not now partake of that cruel character, in America, that it formerly did; but that the slaves, in general, are treated quite *humanely*. I was, a short time since, present at a meeting of the members of an Abolition Society, where a very animated debate took place, and which turned altogether upon this point. One of the gentlemen, in defending the above doctrine, grew warm—eloquent—almost mad with patriotic ardor, and seemed fully resolved to do away, in an effectual manner, the impression that cruelty toward slaves is still countenanced in this liberty-loving country. I shall, hereafter, for his edification, as well as that of others, who are of the same opinion, furnish a few *appalling statements*; and, if they do not shut up their mouths, will probably create

a little distrust in their bosoms as to the correctness of that opinion, which, I will do them the justice to suppose, is based upon information derived from doubtful sources. That a great degree of improvement has taken place, *where the opponents of slavery are getting numerous*, is certainly true; but of other places, so much cannot be said. Indeed the change is effected very "*gradually*," wherever it is perceptible.

Some short time since, I have been very credibly informed, a man of high standing in an adjoining county, shot at a black man for a trifling insult (the use of a few saucy words) to a lady. The ball passed through the upper part of the negro's hat; and finding he was not injured, the outrageous tyrant had him taken, most severely flogged and the wounds, inflicted by the whip, well salted! The black was the slave of a neighbour of his.

In the same section of country, two free coloured men, who could not be easily distinguished from whites, by a stranger, lost their lives, a few years ago, for daring to answer the rude insulting language of some white ruffians.

In another place, not far from this, a very bright coloured man was recently shot as he was returning home, in the evening from meeting.—His offence was supposed to be, that a young lady, whiter than himself, had fallen in love with him! He was held in high estimation by his acquaintances.

It is not a very uncommon thing, in some parts of the United States, for slaves to be tied up by the wrists, raised a foot, or so from the ground, their feet tied a little apart, and the end of a fence rail put between them, to hold them steady, when they are flogged till the *humane* one is tired and after taking a rest he repeats, perhaps two or three times, the not "*cruel*" performance. Some have been known to be whipped nearly, others quite, to death, in this way!

We have heard much of the barbarity of the Turks, the Algerines, and the *uncivilized* inhabitants of other parts of the earth.—But it is susceptible of the fullest demonstration that man, possessed of unlimited power over his fellow creature, is *sure* to abuse it; and that, in general, human nature is all in all the world over.

Selections.

Slavery.—On this subject some interesting inferences may be drawn from the public journals of several of our West India Islands; but the Royal Gazette of Jamaica

only shall be adverted to on the present occasion.

In the Royal Gazette of July 3d, last, there are 34 runaways advertised: some of which are thus described:—George, a Creole, 5 feet 7 inches, marked apparently W on several parts of his shoulders, with severe flogging marks thereon, and C L on left cheek, has a scar on right leg.—James, a Congo, 5 feet 5 inches, marked AMC on right shoulder, with other letters not plain on both shoulders, and had an iron collar on!—John, a Mongola, 5 feet 5 3-4 inches, mark not plain on right shoulder, and has marks of flogging on his back.—John Wise, an Eboe, 5 feet 5½ inches, no brand mark, and has the scars of sores on left shin.—Andrew, a Congo, 5 feet 5 1-4 inches, no brand mark, has marks of flogging on his back, and a large sore on the small of his right leg.”

London Pap.

Slave Trade.—Capt. Munro, arrived at Boston from Africa, informs that the slave trade is still carried on extensively. On the windward coast, there were five French vessels, and three Spanish vessels.

Jamaica papers, received at Baltimore, make mention of a number of vessels fitting out for the slave trade, in some of the ports of Cuba.

The curse of slavery.—By an arrival at Norfolk, from Jamaica, accounts are brought of the discovery of a deep and extensive plot among the slaves to rise upon the whites, of that island. The conspiracy was near its completion ere it was discovered. The ring-leaders, amounting to twenty, had been apprehended, and twelve of them hung. The rest came out upon trial, that they bound themselves to secrecy by the most solemn oath, and to make it more inviolable, they at the time of taking it “*drank human blood mixed with rum!*”

A negro man, a slave, was killed by his overseer, in South Carolina, a short time since. The slave was kicked to death. The jury brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide!!

EXTRACTS

FROM CLARKSON'S PAMPHLET.

(Continued.)

That West Indian slaves, when they work for themselves, do much more in a given time than when they work for their masters, is a fact so notorious in the West Indies, that no one who has been there

would deny it. Look at Long's History of Jamaica, The Privy Council Report, Gaisford's Essay on the good Effects of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and other books. Let us hear also what Dr. Dickson, the editor of Mr. Steele, and who resided so many years in Barbadoes, says on this subject; for what he says is so admirably expressed that I cannot help quoting it. “The planters,” says he, “do not take the right way to make human beings put forth their strength. They apply main force where they should apply moral motives, and punishments, alone, where rewards should be judiciously intermixed. They first beslave their poor people with their cursed whip, and then stand and wonder at the tremour of their nerves and the laxity of their muscles. And yet, strange to tell, those very men affirm, and affirm truly, that a slave will do more work for himself in an afternoon than he can be made to do for his owner in a whole day or more!” And did not the whole assembly of Grenada, as we collect from the famous speech of Mr. Pitt on the Slave Trade in 1791, affirm the same thing? “He (Mr. Pitt) would show,” he said, “the futility of the argument of his honourable friend. He (his honourable friend) had himself admitted, that it was in the power of the colonies to correct the various abuses by which the Negro population was restrained. But they could not do this without improving the condition of their slaves, without making them approximate towards the rank of citizens, without giving them some little interest in their labour, which would occasion them to work with the energy of men. But now the Assembly of Grenada had themselves stated, that, though the Negroes were allowed the afternoon of only one day in every week, they would do as much work in that afternoon, when employed for their own benefit, as in the whole day, when employed in their masters' service. Now after this confession the House might burn all his conclusions relative to the Negro population; for if this population had not quite reached the desirable state which he had pointed out, this confession had proved that further supplies were not wanted. A Negro, if he worked for himself, could do double work. By an improvement then in the mode of labour, the work in the islands could be doubled. But if so, what would become of the argument of his honourable friend? for then only half the number of the present labourers were necessary.”

But the fact, that the slaves in the West Indies do much more work for themselves

in a given time than when they work for their masters, may be established almost arithmetically, if we will take the trouble of calculating from authentic documents which present themselves on the subject. It is surprising, when we look into the evidence examined by the House of Commons on the subject of the Slave Trade, to find how little a West Indian slave really does, when he works for his master; and this is confessed equally by the witnesses on both sides of the question. One of them (Mr. Francklyn) says, that a labouring man could not get his bread in Europe if he worked no harder than a Negro. Another (Mr. Tobin,) that no Negro works like a day-labourer in England. Another (Sir John Dalling), that the general work of Negroes is not to be called labour. A fourth (Dr. Jackson), that an English labourer does three times as much work as a Negro in the West Indies. Now how are these expressions to be reconciled with the common notions in England of Negro labour? for "to work like a Negro" is a common phrase, which is understood to convey the meaning, that the labour of the Negroes is the most severe and intolerable that is known. One of the witnesses, however, just mentioned, explains the matter. "The hardship," says he, "of Negro field-labour is more in the mode, than in the quantity done. The slave, seeing no end of his labour, stands over the work, and only throws the hoe to avoid the lash. He appears to work without actually working." The truth is, that a Negro, having no interest in his work, while working for his master, will work only while the whip is upon him. I can no where make out the clear net annual earning of a field Negro on a sugar plantation to come up to 8*l.* sterling. Now what does he earn in the course of a year when he is working for himself? I dare not repeat what some of the witnesses for the planters stated to the House of Commons; when representing the "enviable condition of the slaves in the West Indies; for this would be to make him earn more for himself in one day than for his master in a week. Let us take then the lowest sum mentioned in the book of evidence. This is stated to be 14*d.* per week; and 14*d.* sterling per week would make 3*l.* sterling per year. But how many days in the week does he work when he makes such annual earnings? The most time, which any of the witnesses gives to a field slave for his own private concerns, is every Sunday, and also every Saturday afternoon in the week, besides three holidays in the year. But this

is far from being the general account. Many of them say that he has only Sunday to himself; and others, that even Sunday is occasionally trespassed upon by his master. It appears, also, that even where the afternoon is given him, it is only out of crop-time. Now let us take into the account the time lost by slaves in going backwards and forwards to their provision-grounds; for though some of these are described as being only a stone's throw from their huts, others are described as being one, and two, and three, and even four miles off; and let us take into the account also, that Sunday is, by the confession of all, the Negro market day, on which alone they can dispose of their own produce, and that the market itself may be from one to ten or fifteen miles from their homes, and that they who go there cannot be working in their gardens at the same time, and we shall find that there cannot be on an average more than a clear three quarters of a day in the week, which they can call their own, and in which they can work for themselves. But call it a whole day, if you please, and you will find that the slave does for himself in this one day more than a third of what he does for his master in six, or that he works more than three times harder when he works for himself than when he works for his master.

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SLAVE'S DEATH BED COMPLAINT.

From broken slumbers—fev'rish dreams;
And fancy's frenzied sobs and screams,
I wake to real pain.

Toil, hunger, cold and nakedness,
Old age, and wounds, and wickedness,
And hope defer'd, or slain;

All these, and more, cannot remove
My thro'ts from the blest scenes of love;
Of peace, delight and joy.

When happy in my partner's arms,
I view'd my lovely daughters' charms,
And little prattling boy.

How oft, in dreams, returns the night,
Our house in flames—o'ercame by might—
We first beheld the chain!
Drove, like a set of beasts, for gold;
From love and friendship torn and sold,
To cross the billowy main.

Within their floating dungeons dire,
 Husband and father; son and sire,
 Chain'd down, and made secure;
 See pamp'rd lust, before our eyes,
Satiate mid female tears and cries!
 Heavens! who could this endure?^m
 Transfer'd, again, from place to place,
 As *Profit* shew'd her flinty face,
 And sold, in every clime—
 All kindred ties are rent and torn;
 Wives, husbands, babes, each other mourn,
 To meet no more in time!
 O'erpower'd, and trampled in the dust;
 By Av'rice, Cruelty and Lust,
 Till every virtue died;
 My wrongs too great for man to bear;
 I sought revenge, unmov'd by fear,
 Jealous of injur'd pride.
 Revenge! thou dreadful, fatal sweet!
 How many curses in thee meet!—
 How pestilent thy breath!
 By thee, I sought infernal aid,
 Poisons procur'd, and then essay'd
 To speed the shafts of death!
 Such was the awful will of Heaven,
 A full revenge to me was given,
 And death I strew'd around.
 I saw I had from justice swerv'd—
 One shaft was for myself reserv'd—
 I felt its mortal wound!
 A hardened sinner, Cato dies.
 Without a friend to close his eyes;
 Too wicked to repent;—
 Yet those who plan'd the negro's woe
 Must seek the fiery "shades, below,"
And share the punishment!

W. M.

* This is but too true a picture of the brutal treatment experienced by female negroes on board the slave ships. On land, a different course is pursued. It very often happens that the unprotected captive is beaten by her master, when she does not submit to his embraces, and by her mistress when she does!

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

MR. EDITOR—

Please insert the following in your paper, and oblige one of your readers.

JONATHAN'S VISIT TO THE SOUTH.

Did you ever go down to the south?—

What shoals o' black niggers is there!

They've white eyes and ivory mouth,
 And wool on their heads, 'stead of hair.

They're a dall looking set, you must own,
 But, Jemini! how they will track it,

When the driver his cart-whip takes down,
 And they hear him beginnin to crack it.

Some plaw with a broad-hoe and shovel—

Their cotton cart home on their heads:

I'll be swamp'd, too, if that isn't novel:

I wonder they dont borrow sleds.

I vum! but it does beat all natur,

To see how they shine in the sun,

When they're hoeing of cotton, or tatars,

With hardly a stitch of clothes on.

Some of em have pleasanter tasks—

To their knees in the sugar, so sweet!

A tramping it down in great casks;

I vaow its too nasty to eat.

Let father catch one in his meal;

If he did'nt clear out, mighty quick,

I guess he would larn him to feel;

He'd dress him, I'll venture, too slick!

The gentry, indeed, they are grand!

I swan! its a nation delight.

For Blackee, with cap in his hand,

To worship em, morning and night.

But I was so aw'erd, they said—

My clothes was so mortally coarse,

The ladies few compliments paid,

And laugh'd, till they seem'd to be hoarse.

As I, once, by a rich man's did pass,

I never! in all my born days,

See'd a prettier dress'd yallow lass—

I'll be bound, they live well, *hereaways*.

Cousin Ichabod, he was along—

Tho't the children was monstrously
tann'd!

I sed he was sartainly wrong;

But there's too many sick in the land.

At night, you'd be tickled to hear

A dandy, as gay as you please,

Call an ebony lassie his dear!

While he gives her an amorous squeeze!

They thought me a natchural fool,

Because I found fault with sich things.

Yet its wrong; for I larn'd at our school

That lewdness is practic'd by *kings*.

There's a heap o' queer sights to be seen:

I dont, now, remember em half:

But if ever I go there agin,

You may call me a farnal great calf!

JONATHAN.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

It is much to be regretted that the communication of "*Observer*" is again necessarily deferred. It may certainly be expected in next Number.

Two articles from West Tennessee, and one from S. Carolina, will be inserted.

"*Alley*," is too incorrect in his versification!

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 14. Vol. III.

SIXTH MONTH, 1824.

WHOLE No. 42.

A Supplementary Number, together with the Title page and Index, for the present volume of this work, will be issued, shortly.

The contemplated removal, (see page 191,) will occasion a delay of, perhaps, two or three months, in the publication of the first No. of the fourth volume.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

Some time in the 10th month (October) last, an order was received from Cape Haytien, through a friend at Brighton, Massachusetts, for a file of this work. The gentleman, through whom the communication was made, also suggested the propriety of presenting a copy to President Boyer; as the diffusion of information among the coloured people in the West Indies, and particularly such of them as occupy elevated stations in the departments of civil government, relative to the exertions that are making to do away the system of oppression here, must have a tendency to keep down a spirit of jealousy and resentment towards us on account of the unjust treatment of their brethren in this country. This idea being strictly in coincidence with my own sentiment, a file of the paper was forwarded, as proposed, directed to the President. It will be seen, by the following, that the work has been received by him; and it has, at least, had the effect of eliciting some valuable information as to the disposition of the Haytien Cabinet in affording facilities for the removal of such of the coloured people from these states, as may be liberated, to a place where they may enjoy the rights and immunities of citizens, and be exempted from the stupifying reflections arising from a condition of moral and political abasement. By a letter from Boston, I learn that a society is about to be formed in that city, to encourage and aid the emigration of coloured people from Massachusetts to Hayti. Many were willing to go, but the means were lacking. How much better would it be for us to exert ourselves to send them there, which can be done with a trifling expence, and where they will be immediately taken off our hands, than to spend all the money that can be raised in sending a few, (a small part of those who ought to

go,) to Africa.—It is said that such as have been accustomed to northern climates, may be accommodated in the highlands of Hayti, which are healthy and pleasant, and, no doubt, will be congenial to their constitutions. Any part of the island, perhaps, would suit those from the southern sections of the United States.

At a future time, I shall take up this subject, and endeavour to point out the superior advantages which Hayti holds out for the "Colonization" of the blacks, now in this country. It is a subject of vast importance to us, and ought to receive the closest attention.

EDITOR.

LETTER,

From John Kenrick, Esq. of Brighton, Massachusetts, to his Excellency Jean Pierre Boyer, President of the Haytien Republic.

BRIGHTON, 12th NOVEMBER, 1823.

Sir—

Pursuant to my particular invitation, Mr. Lundy presents you with the work accompanying this. He has sent all the Numbers he had on hand. They have been brought by mail nearly 900 miles and delivered to me at the Brighton Post Office; and through the medium of our most valuable friend Mr. Dodge, merchant at Cape Haytien, I have transmitted them to you. Knowing the lively interest you take in the welfare of the Africans in the United States, and the pleasure you will derive from being informed of the simultaneous exertions making in England and with us, to meliorate the condition of the unfortunate coloured people, I thought you could hardly receive a more acceptable present.

Long have I been ardently desirous that the Independence of the Haytien Republic, (which I consider as firmly established, at least, as most of the monarchies of Europe,) might be recognized by the government of my country, and such commercial relations formed, as would be mutually advantageous. You will see, in perusing this work, that our philanthropists are using their influence in favor of a general emancipation of the slaves, as soon as the measure can be safely effected.

I trust that our Almighty Father, who sees the distresses of his offspring, wherever

they may be, will grant them deliverance, and cause them to rejoice in his redeeming goodness.—May his choicest blessings descend upon the Haytian Republic.

I am, sir, respectfully yours, to serve, in whatever I may be able, to promote the cause of humanity.

JOHN KENRICK.

*His Excellency, JEAN PIERRE BOYER, }
President of the Haytian Republic. }*

The following was received in answer to the above, from the Secretary General.

[Translation.]

LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

Port au Prince, Jan. 20, 1824.

B. INGINAC, General of Brigade, Secretary General S. E. le President d' Hayti, to Monsieur John Kenrick, of Brighton, near Boston, Massachusetts.

Sir,

I am desir'd by his Excellency, the President of Hayti, to assure you of the reception of the very polite letter which you had addressed to him from Brighton, the 12th Nov last, as well as of the excellent work accompanying it, which breathes the most pure and genuine philanthropy.—His Excellency sees with great satisfaction, a man of your character taking so lively an interest in our country; and you may believe that we shall justify, by the constancy of our efforts; the good opinions which philanthropists have conceived of our unalterable determination to resist a foreign yoke; and that we shall combat, even unto death, for the cause of Liberty and Independence.—Make known, sir, to the unfortunate descendants of Africans, in the United States, that when they may be at liberty to come hither, they will find in us brothers, ever ready to receive them.—Announce to them that in Hayti all are entitled to equal privileges and immunities.—Tell them that those among them who shall receive their freedom, and leave that country, will find in this an asylum; and that the government will accord to such a portion of land, for the culture of coffee, to be enjoyed by them and their posterity.—May they hear our voice—may they arrive safe to our shores.—Hayti will become to them a tender Mother.

I profit by this occasion, Sir, to assure you of my perfect consideration.

B. INGINAC.

The paragraphs below were selected some time since from the papers of the day, and will, no doubt, be read with interest.

HAYTI.—Nearly two thirds of the re-

venue arising during last year from the commerce of Hayti, are stated to have been derived from the trade with the United States and Great Britain; and that the amount paid by this country was more than one third greater than that paid by England. The amount of imports from the U. S. was \$3,611,570, on which a duty was paid into the Treasury, of \$810,862.37. The exports to the U. S. amounted to \$3,293,832.86, paying a duty of \$338,928.29.

Extract of a letter from an American merchant at Cape Haytien, Oct. 2.

"It is a little warm, but not uncomfortable. I have found but little variation in the climate from one day to another; and my first year has now nearly elapsed. I have heard and read of genial skies, and fine airs, and healthy climates, in other parts of the world, but I cannot conceive of any thing that can surpass this. The temperature is nearly the same throughout the year, and if the labour and exertions of the creature would correspond to the liberal and beneficent acts of the creator, this would, indeed, be a second Paradise."

Extract of a letter from a free black man who removed the last season to Hayti, to his friend in the City of New York, dated Nov. 5th, 1823.

"I arrived safe after a pleasant passage of 15 days, and have the pleasure to inform you that on my arrival I visited the president, and was received by him in a most friendly manner. The president has been so kind as to furnish me with all the means necessary for farming; and has promised me that he would give me provisions for ten families, until they can support themselves. I wish you would inform my brother, and request him to inform all my friends who wish to come out, that there are houses and all things prepared for them. I think if industrious people were to come here, they might accumulate something very handsome in a few years."

THE PRESIDENCY.

The following are a few of the sentiments advanced by different persons, respecting the bearing of the subject of negro slavery upon the Presidential Question.—I have room for nothing more now; but if the reader will turn to the 7th No. of the present volume of this work, the opinions of several other writers may also be seen.

The editor of a western paper, speaking of the pretensions of H. Clay, observes—

"It is true, that Messrs. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, are natives and inhabi-

Piat Justitia Ruit Cælum.

ants of slave-holding states—but it does not follow that because no objection was made to their elevation to the presidency, on this ground, none such should be offered to Mr. Clay. The southern people had led us to believe that they considered slavery as a great evil, nay, as a curse; and Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, has denounced it in the most forcible terms. It was rationally to be presumed, therefore, that they would have taken every means in their power to limit and finally extirpate this evil and this curse—hence it was, that no opposition of this kind was made to the nomination of either Jefferson, Madison, or Monroe. But the result of the Missouri question has opened the eyes of the people of the free states—they find that, so far from limiting the evil of slavery, the southern people have succeeded in widening and extending it—and that they have exhibited the singular and glaring inconsistency of imposing what they have led us to believe they considered a curse, upon the people of new and extensive regions. For these reasons it is, that, although the *slave question* was not made an objection to the presidents named, it ought and will be made an objection to Mr. Clay—and the more so, as Mr. Clay was among the foremost in bringing the disgrace and the shame upon the nation, of enlarging its slave boundaries.”

Another writer, in canvassing the same subject, has the following—

“A candidate at the late *hustings* in a neighboring county in Virginia, proclaimed himself a supporter of Mr. Clay for the presidency at the next election; and the principal reason he assigned was, “that Mr. Clay was a friend to the extension of domestic slavery—and should he be elected to the chief magistracy of the Union, his talents and influence would undoubtedly ensure a complete triumph over the non-slave-holding states, and silence their opposition to the extension of slavery forever.” The contest on this point, therefore, involves a very simple proposition only, which every one can readily solve for himself, are you an advocate for the extension of slavery? If you are, make Mr. Clay your President.”

From the Ohio Monitor.

ELECTORAL NOTICE.

On the 18th of February last, a respectable number of members of both branches of the General Assembly, from the different congressional districts in this state, met and were organized, by choosing Joseph Richardson, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Chairman, and Col. James Kil-

bourn, Secretary, and passed resolutions expressive of their determination to support a candidate for President, who is opposed to the slave-holding policy, and were in favor of

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The meeting then proceeded to nominate persons to be recommended to the people of this state as electors of President and Vice President of the United States, and agreed on the following gentlemen to compose the number, to which this state is entitled on account of her senators and representatives in congress.

FREE ELECTORAL TICKET.

Calvin Pease,	S. R. Holcombe,
Alex. Campbell,	Nathl. McLean,
Martin Butler,	Nichl. Garrahty,
Franc. Dunlavy,	— Barnes,
Asa Coleman,	Jn. McLaughlin,
John Wallace,	Thos. McMillan,
Abram. Shepard,	Ephraim Quinby,
Jn. Woodbridge,	Jabez Wright.

ILLINOIS.

The following is copied, verbatim et literatim, (except name and date,) from the manuscript now in my possession. The letter was mailed in the State of Illinois, and enclosed a one dollar bank note. Some of my knowing friends predicted, when I commenced the publication of this work, that slaveholders, and especially the advocates of slavery, would not read it. They were not aware, however, of the liberality, and “Yankee curiosity,” of those classes of people. I have the names of many such on my subscription list. This I do not say boastingly.—It is an honour to them. They are not such miserable bigots as to turn their eyes immediately from a publication, if it does not exactly please them. They wish to know what is in it, ere they condemn it.—And, in addition to this, they entertain no very exalted opinion of a writer, whether an opponent or not, that treats them with *water gruel*. A member of Congress, who was a slave-holder, once told me that I was pretty severe, but he “would not give a cent for a man that should pretend to be a politician, unless he would speak and write with spirit.”—But to the Letter.—I wish it to be read, and shall accompany it with a few remarks.

“Dear Sir,

I have lately seen some of the numbers of your paper, and observe, midst your efforts for good, you sometimes inveigh against the good citizens of Illinois for wishing to intrude the “curse of slavery” among us. By

Yankee curiosity excites me to hear all that can be said on both sides; for tho' I was born and educated among the Puritans of New England, I have long resided in slave states, and have made up my mind on the subject, that the very "curse of slavery" would benefit the citizens of Illinois. Still, perhaps, I might gain information from those that know more, or less, on the subject, than myself.

I have been astonished at the efforts of the Abolition Society. Do they, can they suppose, that the free man of color has more regard for the parched deserts of Africa, than for the land of his birth? Does the circumstance that his ancestors there roamed, some centuries since, endear that country to him in preference to that where the bones of his immediate ancestors lie buried?

We shall, in all human probability have a convention; and as probably admit slavery; and just as probable the number of slaves in the union will not be increased a single individual, and that they will be better treated than they now are.

If the enclosed will compensate you for the fourth volume of your paper, you will please forward it.

Yours respectfully, &c."

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

What the writer says respecting the place of his nativity, I do not doubt. He may be a lineal descendant of one of those famous New England "Puritans," who were so humane, and religious (I ask pardon!) as to flog, imprison, lash to a cart-tail and whip through the streets of their cities and towns, and even to banish, and hang truly pious men and WOMEN! because they would not adopt *their* mode of worshiping Almighty God!!!—There are many eastern adventurers in our western country, who may be ranked among the vilest of the advocates of oppression. It is said of the Yorkshire English, that being great adepts in the art of *over-reaching*, a short residence among the most "cute" of the yankees, will learn them even to "cheat the devil!"—So of some of the "Puritans of New England;"—It frequently happens that if once free from moral restraint, associated with the lords of the negro, and backed by power and influence, they soon become the most unblushing tyrants. This gentleman will, therefore, perceive that the circumstance of his having been born in New-England, and his being now an advocate of the most accursed system of oppression that ever existed upon earth, may all be admitted as true, without, in the least degree establishing the legality

of that system, or proving that his judgment is not a little warped.

I must correct him where he speaks of the "Abolition Society," &c.—He is not ignorant, but has made a small mistake. It is the *Colonization Society* that he alludes to. With respect to the attachment of the negro to the "bones of his ancestors," whether of those immediate or remote, it would appear that he must be possessed of feelings very different from any thing known among the emigrant "puritans of New-England," if he would not prefer a land where he may enjoy the rights and immunities of a citizen, to one in which he continually feels himself degraded, altho' it be the same in which those dry bones "lie buried." Perhaps the gentleman himself has witnessed the feelings incident to human nature, when reflecting on the force of attachment in such cases, or, rather, in cases when the prospect of wealth and dignity held out their tempting lures, inviting him to a distant land, tho' degradation may not have spurred him onward. But it seems that notwithstanding he has so much sympathy for the free coloured people, he has no consideration for the *slaves*.—He will have no objection to forcing *them* from the land "where the bones of their immediate ancestors lie buried," provided, *he himself* can live at his ease, and riot in luxury and extravagance on their labor, during his short pilgrimage in this life. If he has children, they too may be compelled to seek their own *safety* in a land far distant from that in which *his* bones will "lie buried."—They will, indeed, have little inducement to venerate his name, his "bones," or the place where they may be entombed, if he takes no measures, when he has it in his power, to prevent the introduction of "the very curse of slavery," by which he himself would probably be advanced to the condition of a petty lordling, and they would be ruined—no, indeed!—and if even the blood of his offspring shall not crimson the turf where his ashes may lie slumbering, or their murderers dance o'er his grave in horrid triumph, yet such will be the woful state of things, in case slavery shall continue unchecked in this Union many years longer, that the names of its present advocates will be associated with infamy; and they will be remembered only in the execrations of their posterity. What, I would ask the gentleman, is the general opinion, at this time, of those who first engaged in the foreign slave trade?—Did not they deserve to be *hung*, as well as the "pirates" who now carry it on?—In the same light that the slave tra-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

der at sea, is now viewed, will the advocate of the system, on land, be viewed a few years hence.—They are both actuated by the same moving principle—avarice and self aggrandizement. They equally disregard both the laws of God and man, with very few exceptions, and like twin-monsters, will occupy the same niche in the temple of Fame—AS ENEMIES OF THE HUMAN RACE.

I am of an opinion quite different from that of the gentleman, respecting the extension of slavery to the State of Illinois.—I am in hopes that it will not be tolerated there. Many intelligent citizens of that state have expressed the same sentiment; and as an evidence that there is good ground for this belief, it may be observed, that the paper which was established at the seat of government, and had a very respectable patronage, the editors of which had also been elected printers to the state, actually fell for the want of support, in a short time, after it was made an instrument to subserve the interest of the slave party. This proclaims aloud the impotency of its efforts, and is indicative of its final prostration.—But, if, contrary to this expectation, the unhallowed system be admitted, he supposes, that "the number of slaves in the Union will not be increased by it, a single individual!" Most astonishing, that a man of sober sense can thus express himself!—Let us suppose a case my friend.—When slavery was first introduced into America, had it been strictly prohibited in every section except Rhode Island, where the renowned D^r Wolf and his philanthropic compeers learned so well the art of managing the business.—Quere—Would there have been the same number of slaves in the U. S. at the census of 1820, that the marshalls returned?—I should be pleased to understand what principle thy philosophy recognizes, with respect to the progress of population.—But the advocates of slavery have so long preached up this miserably absurd doctrine, and have so seldom been contradicted, that some have probably prevailed upon themselves to believe it!—Any one, however, who puts the least confidence in such calculations, is most egregiously deceived. Open a market for slaves in the state of Illinois, and thousands will instantly be taken thither.—This would create a rivalry among the "pirates" against the human race, at sea, and vast numbers of slaves would be smuggled into the country from abroad. It is not true that "our laws would prevent it," as I have often heard asserted.—These laws are a dead letter, in hundreds of places, along our sea-

coast and frontiers, while the officers appointed to execute them are themselves, in many instances, the very persons who infringe them. I have said it fifty times; and I will repeat it, again and again, that, **WHILE THERE IS A MARKET FOR SLAVES THE HELLISH TRAFFIC WILL BE CONTINUED.**

But it is said they would be treated better than they now are, if they were scattered over the country more.—Here is another lean bait for the unwary—a mere "sub for the whale." In few instances has this ever produced such an effect, unless those removed have happened to fall into the hands of more humane masters. It is only in those sections of country where the principle of emancipation is fostered, that we may calculate on a melioration of the condition of the slaves. Nothing but a corrupted judgment, or a corrupted heart, can possibly encourage an attempt to extend the diabolical system of slavery in any degree, or in any manner whatever.

I will now conclude my observations; but must first thank the gentleman for his candor and liberality.—He had no right to expect that he would be spared; but I shall be happy, at any time, to give him an opportunity to acquaint the public with his sentiments, through the medium of this paper.—And at the end of the year, I shall expect another dollar from him, with orders to continue his subscription; for if it be gratifying to him to witness the exposure of corruption and barefaced hypocrisy, as relates to the subject before us, I promise him, that, in case I may be favored, with health and strength to prosecute my labors, he shall be presented with many a pleasing portrait!

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The following is an extract of a letter, dated 3d May, 1824, from a member of Congress, in answer to one from the editor, requesting his attention to the subject of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia.

"My attention had been turned to the subject of gradually abolishing slavery in this district, for some years; but I had not completely and satisfactorily arranged the details in my own mind when I came here, and have not entirely so yet. It is a subject on which great caution is to be used, if good is expected to result from any effort that a man can make, except to advance himself. When I act upon this subject I am more desirous to do something for the

good of the slave and for the cause of humanity, than for myself; and I am satisfied this is not the session to effect any thing of that nature. We have, already, numerous causes of excitement; & an attempt at present to ameliorate the condition of this unfortunate class of the human race, would prove abortive, and in its re-action, place so desirable an event, as their emancipation still more remote. I shall not however, I think, forget the subject; and so soon as my judgement shall be satisfied I can move with a reasonable prospect of success, I shall do so."

"I am pleased to observe that, at least, one of the members of Congress has had this important subject under consideration; and I truly hope that he will not forget it."—Few men in that body would, perhaps, be more likely to prosecute the business to a successful issue than him. I shall consider this as something of the nature of a pledge to the public, tho' I do not feel myself at liberty to acquaint the public with his name. He has long been known as a zealous friend to the cause of humanity, and I shall be happy to see him take a stand that will redound so much to the honour of his country, as that to which we have adverted.

CHEERING!

A gentleman who resides in the interior of Kentucky, very recently wrote me as follows:—

"I am happy to inform you that the heaven-born principles of emancipation are making rapid strides in these parts."

Appended to this, were subscriptions to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, to the value of thirty-five dollars. This is what editors, in general, would call a convincing proof of the correctness of the gentleman's remark.

PRECEDING VOLUMES.

The demand for complete files of this work has been so great within a few months past, the editor is sorry to state that he can no longer furnish new subscribers with it from the commencement. All the copies of the first volume are disposed of.—Of the second volume upwards of a thousand copies were printed, forty or fifty of which yet remain for sale.—Owing to the mis-management of the mails, a considerable number of distant subscribers withdrew their names at the end of the second year, and not quite so many copies of the third volume were struck off.—These have entirely run out. While the editor regrets that he will not have it in his power hereafter to accommodate those

who may wish to procure the work from the commencement, he will use every exertion to render the future Numbers worthy the attention of an enlightened public.

RHODE ISLAND RECOMMENDATION.

A Boston paper states that, the Legislature of Rhode Island has adopted the Ohio resolutions.—(See *G. U. Emancipation*, page 139.—Vol. III.)

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the congress of the United States of America, the memorial of the ninth convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, respectfully sheweth:

That your memorialists, estimating that high regard with which congress will be disposed to consider every subject that may affect the great principles of civil and religious liberty, beg leave to solicit the serious attention of your Honorable body, to the unhappy situation of the people of colour, who are held in involuntary servitude in this republican government; and to a review of the contrast which exists between the privileges of this part of our population, and the unalienable rights of man, exhibited in our national bill of rights as the foundation of our great republic.

Notwithstanding the excellency of our national constitution, the principles of which, are liberty and equal rights to all men, there are, at this time, far more than a million of our brethren of the human race, groaning under the iron hand of oppression, retained in bondage, and doomed to wear the chains of perpetual slavery.—Here we behold human beings, created in the image of God, driven through our land of boasted liberty, and many of them in chains and fetters, to markets of human traffic, and sold—promiscuously sold and dispersed, as if they belonged to the brute creation. In this traffic, or internal slave trade, a system is practised, calculated to promote the aggrandizement of one on the misery of another, which is in its nature, abhorrent to every just and tender sentiment, and painful to humane sensibility.

Have these people no claims on our justice—no claims on our humanity, or are they alone doomed to suffer forever, without pity or commiseration? Your memorialists humbly conceive, that if their claim on us for justice and mercy was all, that this alone should be sufficient to call forth every exertion of the constituted authorities of

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

an enlightened and free people, to unloose the chains of slavery, and set the captives free; but they consider that the claim of justice and humanity is not all:—believing that the perpetuity of our government, and the safety of our great republic, are deeply interested in the momentous subject. Can slavery be eternal? Every dictate of rational sensibility, every principle of religion, natural and revealed—every attribute of Deity, forbid, and join to pronounce the hope delusive.

Nearly two millions of hardy, prolific, and oppressed people in the bosom of our country—increasing in an almost unparalleled ratio—their usage and situation preparing them for toil and hardships, and their degradation and ignorance, qualifying them for the most savage ferocity, whilst the influence of slavery is sinking us into effeminacy, are considerations, which your memorialists humbly conceive, should demand the most serious attention of the national Legislature, and also of those of the individual states. Let the mind glance along the vista of time for a few generations, and it must see an immense and increasing population of slaves, formidable in their appearance, and hostile in mind to a government, whose laws have sanctioned their degradation, and have withheld from them the enjoyment of the rights of man; and who, if there is not an early provision made by the government and the people, for the amelioration of their condition by gradual emancipation, and by a prohibition of the internal slave trade, and the inhuman practice of separating from each other, and also from their tender offspring those who have been united by the endearing ties of conjugal affection, may be suffered by the disposer of events, to become a scourge to the nation, for withholding from them those rights, which he has proclaimed to the world to be the just inheritance of all men.

Your memorialists believe that congress can interfere with effect in prohibiting the traffic in rational beings, within the United States, by fine or otherwise; and thus discourage, or prevent the driving of our fellow creatures through our States and Territories to markets for human flesh, that the glory of our nation be no longer tarnished by a custom, only equalled by unfeeling Barbarians, and the wild Arabs of the deserts.

We would respectfully suggest to your Honorable body, a consideration of the expediency of putting our declaration of independence into operation, by declaring by law, that there shall be no more slaves born

in republican America.

Your memorialists would most humbly petition congress, not to admit slavery into any of the states where it is not, nor suffer it in future, in any new states which may hereafter be admitted into the Union—believing that the wider the extension of the evil, the more difficult it will be to accomplish its removal, and, if not removed, the more dangerous will be its effects.

The United States of America, were the first among the nations of modern times, to assert to the world the universal rights of man—from whence, the seeds of freedom have been disseminated, and the germs of liberty have sprung up in other climes;—and humanity, justice, and the honour of the nation, forbid that she should be the last, in extending those rights to all within her wide domain.

Your memorialists being desirous to promote the rights of all mankind, and anxious for securing the safety, the honor, and the happiness of this nation, believe it to be their indispensable duty to address your Honorable body in that love which wisheth well to the whole human family; relying, at the same time, on your superior wisdom and understanding, and ardently beseeching your Honorable body to take the subject therein presented, into mature consideration, and in your wisdom, open some door for the extension of relief to that oppressed people, and your memorialists, as in duty bound, will pray.

Done in Convention, the 12th day of 8th Month (August) 1823.

JAMES JONES President.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
REPUBLICANISM—SLAVERY.

It is common among men to use certain words or expressions to signify their opinion of extraordinary events which have transpired among nations or smaller communities, and which they have been witnesses to, or have had an account of by tradition or history. In many cases they are adopted as a kind of principle, to which such frequent recurrence is made, and so often are they misapplied, that they become trite and frequently have no determinate signification at all, in the way they are used. Among the words or sentences used among my acquaintance, I have thought the term *Republican*, has been as often misapplied, hackneyed, abused and profaned, as almost any word in our whole vocabulary. "I am a true republican, every inch of me," is often vociferated with a kind of exultation, by

men whom perhaps we know, and are induced to believe if they are actuated by any settled principle, it is despotism. Yet such men, however insignificant and unworthy of regard, will keep up a kind of triumph in company, and perhaps cast insinuations upon others that do not join in their frothy discourse, which often brings on a riot or affray, on account of that misapplied word. As I am a person who have not exposed myself much as a preacher or a prophet; as I live secluded, and unknown to fame; and as a prophet seldom receives much applause in his own country, it may be considered something like presumption in me to undertake any thing connected with it now, at an advanced period of life.—But having a little of the old fashioned idea of justice, hanging about me, which I imbibed in my juvenile years, under the old confederation, when the thirteen partners entered their protest against their tyrannical landlord on the other side of the pond, I have taken the liberty to make some remarks upon public matters, and to that end have chosen a text, viz.—

"Ye shall know them by their fruits.—Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"—MATTH. VII. 16.

Hitherto I have remarked upon what is often going on at convivial meetings, among those who are called common people, of whom states, nations, empires, &c. are mostly composed. In such a mixed multitude, it must be expected there will be a great variety of characters; that among these, there will be some designing men, who wish to rule the multitude, and who (unfortunately for the rest,) too often, by their insinuations and duplicity, effect their purpose. As there are so many among us who are extremely ignorant and do not pretend to think, and among those a little better informed, who had rather get others to think for them, than to compare for themselves, this is not so difficult a task as might be expected, even in a democratical or popular government, where the power is said to be lodged in the people. Among the people composing this mixed multitude, it must be expected there is a portion of men of good talents, who possess sound judgment and candor; who consider that all is not gold that glitters, and who deprecate the evil that awaits the community, in consequence of departing from first principles; but being modest men and not wishing to scramble for the loaves and fishes, and not possessing fortitude sufficient to stem the torrent, and to throw their mite into the scale, to do

justice to themselves and to the community, they settle down in a kind of indolence, and let matters take their own course, not considering that duties neglected, may operate sometimes as heavily as sins committed. As for the generality of the people, or the large body of the citizens, though honest perhaps, as individuals, to decide and give a just judgment or decision between neighbors, yet when public men are to be chosen, who are to decide the fate of the state or of the nation, they crouch under the burden, and do not consider the dignity that is attached to them, that the sovereignty is lodged in them, and that they are accountable creatures—that if they misapply their power or their talents, in their choice, they may thus destroy the liberties of the whole nation, and the happiness and well-being of themselves and the community.—Awful catastrophe, for which they are accountable! We are led by those who can insinuate and deceive by their intrigues, and show the brightest gloss and varnish over the outside best. This is not perhaps always the case, but generally speaking it will hold good. Those who have the power, neglect modest worth; prefer tinsel to gold, and sycophants to men of candor and sound judgment; yet (WE) the people rule, and will have it so!!!

At the epoch of the old confederation, it was not only considered, but proclaimed to the world, that *all men were equally entitled to freedom*. They felt that oppression was hateful to God and man. They had begun to feel the scourge of slavery, and were not disposed to admit the principle to blend itself with, or mar the beauty of a republican institution. It is thought by some who are well informed, that if those held in personal bondage had then applied for their freedom, they must have undoubtedly attained it.—But they had none to help them. Many years had not elapsed, when those sons of freedom thought the confederation system (though meant to do justice to the Union) did not allow sufficient power to the great national council to act efficiently. They called a Convention to amend the Constitution.—The Convention made a new one, which was adopted by the partners, and became the law of the land. In the convention there were jarring interests, and they had to compromise matters as well as they could; however, in one point it seems, they departed from first principles.—They barred Congress from prohibiting any state from importing slaves prior to the year 1808. This seems like acknowledging the legality of slavery! Would not the old adage ap-

ply?—"So doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and honor." But, no doubt, many of the principal men of that day were ashamed of it; for the time had scarce run out, when Congress put an edict in force to stop the importation of slaves into these states.—The British government also put a stop to the nefarious traffic to Africa, about the same time—perhaps in the same month. In this respect we are even with them; but in the sequel we fall behind a long distance. Their government is monarchical, yet they do not tolerate slavery within the realm; that is, in Great Britain or Ireland; but as soon as a slave sets his foot upon the soil, he is a free man. Shame to us, republicans, who let slave-traders march with their human booty through the country, unmolested, and even through the streets by our Capitol, where the wisdom of the nation is congregated, & our representatives are legislating upon the rights of mankind!!! What can a disinterested spectator, or a foreigner, think of such republicanism? It must give rise to ideas as unfavorable to us in a political point of view, as the Mahometans entertain of the religion of the Christians who practice oppression. It is true that the Britons tolerate slavery in some of their colonies, the West India islands, &c. and although they are far away from the national seat of government, therein they are no better than we are.—The difference is, *we have them always before us, to operate as a memento, and remind us that we profess freedom!!*—But it is said the British parliament has lately taken up the subject of slavery, with a view to modify it so as for human beings not to be considered chattel property, and for slavery to run out. How should we feel if that government, which to, republicans, have detested so long, as oppressive and despotic, should release the captives and set the bondmen free, while our free republican institutions rivet their chains with all the severity of the inquisition!!!—In that case, will they not rise in judgment against us?

It is to be hoped that people will think more seriously of the sin of oppression, and not let the sordid love of gain destroy the principles which they know to be just, and which they know that equity demands at their hands—to relieve the oppressed, and to set the captives free. This is no new doctrine; it boasts great antiquity, even as far back as where the Jewish legislator gave the law to the Israelites. They (the Jews) were four hundred years, or upwards, in Egyptian bondage, and were brought out

by a high hand, and if not a total overthrow of Egypt, it was measurably so. That our race of slaves was first in Queen Elizabeth's reign, in the The Queen, it is said, was not satisfied at the time, nor ever afterwards. About 262 years since the abominable traffic was first introduced, and there has been advocates for the abolition of it almost from the time of its commencement. The first committee, or society, for the abolition of the traffic was organized in England, in the year 1787; and from that time to the year 1808, societies were kept up in England and America for that purpose. Societies also exist in America, down to this day, for the abolition of the practice of slavery, which cannot yet be effected under our free and equitable form of government! Whether the monsters will persist like Pharaoh the 400 years out, or whether they will be suffered so long to act thus hypocritically, is yet hidden from us. There are yet about 138 years to fill up;* but it is to be hoped those concerned will do away the evil, and avoid the judgment that may fall upon a guilty land. It is admitted by candid men, that slavery is wrong in principle, and wrong in practice; but what shall we do with them? is the cry—Do justice, relieve the oppressed, and let the captives go free. If they were gradually emancipated, they would be attached to the government, as they would be protected by it; and it would be unreasonable to suppose they would raise insurrections against their benefactors. The government might at least, admit those slaveholders who are so disposed, to set their own free, and not compel such as wish to do justly, to sin against the light that is offered them. But it is said they are an ignorant, stupid set, and have no intellectual

* The coloured population in the United States, it appears, has hitherto doubled every 25 or 30 years.—If this ratio of increase continues until the period alluded to by my correspondent arrives, the number of that class of people will amount to upwards of forty millions!!!—*What then?*—But a great portion of the people will not think. So stupid are they, or so intent on present gratification, it is doubtful whether they would take the trouble to examine into their future prospects, though Heaven's forked lightning were driving at their heads! Even were hell itself to yawn, they would probably dally on its crumbling brink, should they see any thing dazzling there!!

Editor.

powers. But what do we find?—Do we not see that when the shackles of slavery are out of the question, they exhibit as bright talents as persons of a lighter complexion?—witness the testimony of Anthony Benezett, who taught a school of blacks in Philadelphia.—He said they were as bright, and equally susceptible of instruction, as white children. Witness also the government of Hayti, (St. Domingo.) It seems they commemorate the day of their release from thralldom, in like manner as we do that of ours. Their orations are as well composed, as energetic, and would do equal honor to the head and heart, as those composed in the United States. Again:—Witness the progress of the blacks in Sierra Leone.—Their susceptibility of improvement in the arts, and the higher branches of science; their order and decorum, all combine to render them fit examples of imitation even for the whites in the seminaries of the United States.

But I have been speaking altogether in a political sense, and have not called religion to my aid.—“Ye shall know them by their fruits.”—

What is religion?—Love to God and our fellow beings.—So that true religion is made up of love; and therefore as the human family are of one blood, we must consider slaves (no reference to the color of the skin) to be fellow beings. If we love them in the spirit of religion or true benevolence, we must by that rule try to do to them as we would wish to be done by.—Of course we cannot answer to our conscience to hold them in oppression.—“Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?” It would be as unnatural to expect much from either the thorn or the thistle, that would justify us in handling them, as to expect true religion in despotism, tyranny, or oppression! Every one that professes Christianity, must acknowledge that the author of that blessed dispensation enjoins it on them to give righteous judgment; that he enjoins strict justice; that he emphatically charges his followers: “whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.” Now if any true Christian would wish to be a slave, and undergo all the privations incident to that situation, upon that principle he might claim some indulgence; but not otherwise. Therefore, we think no true Christian can hold his fellow-being in slavery upon the principle laid down. There are many different sects of professors of christianity, each tenacious of its creed, and protestants each have the Ro-

man Catholics the most at a distance perhaps of any. They say, which may be true enough, that they exercise an inquisitorial power where they have the sway, and imprison people for supposed offences, letting them lay frequently without trial until death; and if tried for the supposed offence, perhaps the flames end their career at the stake, in this life of trouble. Some few may be acquitted; but they are (it is said) generally heart-broken. This seems very harsh dealing, and we say, unchristian. Yet let us look round and consider whether protestants are not culpable in a higher degree than the Romans, though it is said they immolate many human beings in a year, in each of their separate governments, on the altar of superstition. If we take a view of the different Christian sects, particularly in the slave-holding part of the United States, we shall probably see that there is, every year, ten times the number sacrificed by protestants on the altar of avarice and ambition, according to the number of white inhabitants! Let us pluck the beam out of our own eye, and then we can see clearly to take the mote out of our brother's eye.—“*Ye shall know them by their fruits, do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?*”

We find that justice, that candor, that equity, that enlightened policy will not admit of slavery; and that true religion recoils at the idea of it.—Even the Roman pontiff, Leo the X, decided that, “not only the Christian Religion, but Nature, herself, cried out against a state of slavery.” Now let us try what Republicanism will admit of, and first, let us define the word. I consider the word to mean a commonwealth—a free state; and I might add, a government by the people, where each citizen is entitled to his suffrage—where his liberty is unshackled, and as free as the air he breathes. We hold that republicanism is the basis of equal liberty, and will not admit of tyranny; that where involuntary slavery prevails, there must be tyranny; that where the latter is prevalent the republican principle must be extinct. Let us profess what we may, the leading or ruling principle must be despotic. I do not wish to carry matters beyond the proper bounds, but with this definition, republicanism will not admit of slavery. It begun in oppression, it was carried on by cruelty, rapine and murder, and the most horrid atrocities perhaps of any traffic that ever existed, and is still kept alive by the same spirit, in many places. I wish my countrymen could be relieved from the load of guilt under which they labour

on that account. Why should our southern neighbors, the Spaniards, outstrip us so far in justice, in candor and true liberty? Were not our dispositions as good—were we not as enlightened? If so, let us not be too proud to learn—to imitate their virtues, and let us adopt what is laudable in their code. It is said that Mexico, Colombia, and Chili, have abolished slavery. This, if true, leaves us a long way behind; but it is not too late, if the people were disposed to act justly, to remedy the evil, and to remove this curse from the land.

Another thing ought to claim the attention of the citizens who wish to do justice and act up to the republican principle: and that is, to select persons to legislate, and to fill offices of government, from among the non-slave holding citizens, even from the President down to the lowest office in the gift of the people. **OBSERVER.**

Stokes County, N. C. Jan. 15, 1824.

Approved by the Inspecting Committee of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, April 10th, 1824.

STEPHEN BROOKS, Chairman.

To the editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

I wish you to give the following an insertion in your paper. You have no doubt heard of the great achievements of Admiral Cockburn, at Hampton, Havre de Grace, &c. which will make him more celebrated for virtuous deeds of female protection, than all the knights of Virgin Cross whose names are recorded in ancient or modern history. Be it remembered by every true American, and especially the inhabitants of South Carolina, that in the month of March 1815, near about the last of said month, the above named British Admiral was lying with his squadron at or near St. Helena Sound, on the coast between Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia, which section of country was left nearly defenceless on account of our troops being called to those cities; and that the said Cockburn then projected the massacre of all the old men, women and children, by sending his boats on shore, and employing the sable, black hearted negroes, whose hearts, like his, have no remorse nor sting of conscience, to the number of 3000 or more. They were to rise as soon as they heard the signal guns fired from his flag ship, rally forth, massacre and murder all without reserve, burn and ransack every house &c. and gratify their brutal heat with defenceless virgins, as he says his men (God forgive me for calling

them men,) had done at Hampton and elsewhere.—During this massacre and conflagration, he expected the troops would be drawn from Charleston and Savannah, by which means he would obtain a landing, destroy Charleston, and receive his sable, brutal auxiliaries into the arms of British freedom. This is from one who was in Charleston at the time alluded to.

A South Carolinian.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

If the writer of the foregoing thinks he has made out a strong case against the cause of emancipation, as well as the objects of it, which I infer from his manner of treating the subject, I shall soon convince him of the contrary. He appears to have had an awful impression made upon his mind at the time those horrible scenes were preparing to burst upon his view; and, doubtless there was a sufficient reason for it.—But what is to be done to prevent the like in future?—Admiral Cockburn, or any other naval officer at war with us, and possessed of a sufficient force, might probably do the same thing upon a similar occasion, if he should be able to effect a landing; and what less could be expected from an enemy?—Let the people of S. Carolina and Georgia rest assured that while they have among them such vast numbers of degraded, servile wretches, whom they have rendered so “brutal,” and so “black-hearted,” they will be exposed to continual danger from that source.—And after a short time, they will not wait for the “signal guns,” from a British Admiral’s flag-ship, to commence their horrid work of burning, plunder & massacre. What, then, it is repeated, shall be done to prevent this?—Answer: *Abolish the system of Slavery—Nothing else will do.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
MONARCHUS & REPUBLICUS.

(Concluded.)

Mon. If slavery is contrary to the principles of the Christian religion, which, according to your reasoning, appears to be the case, I am persuaded that you manumissionists will find some difficulty in getting the slaves out of the hands of those that hold them, seeing they have the law of the land on their side.

Rep. I have already told you that it was never the design of the manumissionists to take any man’s slave from him; but that their object was to call the attention of the public to this great national sin of African slavery, by representing it in its true colour and native deformity, “which to be hated

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

needs only to be seen," that those that have them may, as a free will offering, and from a principle of justice, adopt measures for their gradual emancipation, and restoration to the rights of man.

Mon. But how can you charge it as a national sin on America, seeing that the tyrannical government of England first introduced African slavery in our country, while we were under its dominion?

Rep. In the first place, by voluntarily purchasing their stolen property, (for I presume they did not force us to buy it,) and so becoming tyrants ourselves; and even worse tyrants, as it respects the negroes, than the British nation; for though they have slaves in some of their foreign colonies, yet a slave is free as soon as he sets his foot on the shores of England; but slaves abound, and the chains of bondage rattle, even around the metropolis of our republican land of liberty and equal rights.

Mon. It don't seem to set so well with me to hear American republicans called tyrants—we profess to be a free people.

Rep. If you suppose there are no tyrants in America, I should like to hear your definition of the term.

Mon. Alexander the great, Bonaparte, and all other absolute Monarchs, whose will is their law, are tyrants; and in short, all monarchs are more or less tyrannical.

Rep. But you will please to observe that there are *grand tyrants, and petty tyrants*; and as you define every monarch, and especially every absolute monarch whose will is his law, to be a *tyrant*, it will incontestably follow, that every American Slave holder is a *tyrant, and an absolute monarch*; for in the government of his slave, his will is his law, as completely as the most absolute monarch on earth; and he that exercises absolute dominion over but one poor African slave, is as much a *tyrant* in principle, and if he had it in his power, would, doubtless, be as full so in practice, as the monarch that tyrannizes over fifty, or an hundred millions of subjects.

Mon. I never thought of that before: but let us further hear how you make out African slavery in America, to be our national sin.

Rep. In the second place, by continuing in bondage the slaves that had been brought in by authority of the British government, instead of conferring on them that *freedom*, which in our national bill of rights we had declared, in the presence of heaven and earth, to be the natural birth right of every individual of the human race.

And thirdly, to crown the climax, by authorising the importation of African slaves in American vessels, under the special sanction of the American government, for a certain term of years, then to come; by which act of ours, we fairly exonerated the British government from her national guilt, as it respected American slavery, and took the whole weight of it upon our own shoulders.

Mon. It is now growing towards evening; I think we will adjourn till morning, when something further of importance may be brought to our recollection.

Rep. As you please; but you may possibly be as unfortunate in your recollections, as Balaam was, when he retired to seek for enchantments.

SIXTH DAY.

Mon. After a tedious long night's ruminating on the subject of our debate, I have come this morning, agreeably to adjournment, to assume the thread of our controversy.

Rep. I do not wonder at your uneasiness, since the struggle of justice and humanity, on the one side, with avarice, dominion, and self ease, on the other, produce, in the minds of men, a host of unpleasant perturbations.

Mon. To come to the point:—But if African slavery has become our sin; as a nation, yet from some circumstances with which it is attended, it may not, I presume, be a crime of any very serious consequences to the government.

Rep. The servile oppression and degradation of two millions of human beings, that were created in the image of God, as certainly as we were; and entitled by nature, to all the immunities of free men, and by grace, to all the blessings of the redemption of a fallen world by a Mediator, is a crime of such immense magnitude, that the nation had need to tremble at the consequences of the crimson colored guilt which so heavily lies upon it, and which may draw down from the vindictive skies, a storm of vengeance that may shake the government to its very centre, if not finally overthrow it, if early means are not used by the people for its removal, by restoring to those victims of our avarice and injustice, their native and heaven endowed freedom.

Mon. But the advantages which the negroes derive from being brought from their native country of pagan darkness and barbarity, to a country of gospel light, where they have the opportunity of becoming ac-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

quainted with, and of being partakers of, the christian religion, will greatly qualify the crime of slavery, if not remove it altogether.

Rep. A most decisive way truly, of converting the heathen to christianity! This American missionary scheme of christianizing the Africans, beggars the spanish inquisition in all its blackest horrors, & beats it all hollow:—The tender hearted christians, after sailing, on their mission to Africa, furnish the natives with implements of war, and with spirituous liquors, then show them some shining trinkets, or glittering baubles, and inform them that they wish to give these valuable articles in exchange for slaves. These alluring objects soon convert those heathen natives into furies, and presently war, slaughter, and captivity ensues, till whole tracts of country, with immense numbers of cities and towns are depopulated and destroyed, and, in many places, the fertile plains, rendered still more so by being manured with the countless numbers of human bodies left to rot upon it.

The victors now convey their captives to the shipping, and sell their human plunder to the christian purchaser, who brands, irons, and stows them in the holds of those floating dungeons, where many are suffocated, and many die of grief, and of pestilential diseases. When the survivors have reached the blissful shores of America, they are promiscuously sold out to the professed disciples of Jesus Christ, without any regard to affinity, or relationship, and are then conveyed by the new masters to the hospitable quarters, or kitchens, where the task masters stand ready with their cowhide whips to administer the purifying lesson, while curses, abuse an' insult, with a wilful depriving them of learning to read, in many instances, bring up the rear of their conversion to christianity! So far are the benefits which they derive from a change of countries, from lessening our national offence, that they add infinitely to its enormity.

Mon. But do you suppose that there are none of our American slaves that will go to heaven?

Rep. So far from it, that I suppose more of them may be saved than of the whites, according to their respective numbers, but not through the agency of their owners; and perhaps there had been many more saved than will now be the case, if they had not been brought from Africa, to be corrupted by the evil examples of professing christians.

Mon. Was it ever known that slavery was the downfall of any nation, if we ex-

cept the Egyptian?

Rep. That nation itself should be a sufficient sample to every succeeding nation on earth. As there is a *war* pronounced against the *oppressing city*, I presume that the same denunciation stands in equal force against every *oppressing country or nation*; for it is declared by the mouth of inspiration, that the *oppressor* shall be broken to pieces. What have become of nations once famous for their pride, avarice, and oppression, that are now no more, and whose histories hold up their crimes and their dissolutions together, as beacons, or monuments of warning to all succeeding generations, to beware of the causes of their fearful overthrow?

Mon. As the laws of our country authorise slavery, and the people have laid out their money in the purchase of slaves, they will not be easily persuaded to give them up, though slave holding should be a sin, seeing that so many of our greatest professors of religion have set them the example.

Rep. That such professors do more by their example in establishing that unchristian and heathenish practice, than a host of non-professors could do, I have already hinted: but as to slavery's being authorised by the laws of our country, you will please to take notice, that a law that is not constitutional, is nothing better than arbitrary power exercised over right; and that no law is strictly constitutional, that is not bottomed on justice and equity. A law, then, authorising slavery in any of the United States of America, is so far from being constitutional on the principle of our national bill of rights, that it is in direct contradiction of it; and I am persuaded that if there was any other tribunal on earth that could be decisive, to which the slaves could bring suit, that every slave in America would be discharged from bondage on the principles of that declaration.

Mon. Many of us use our slaves with so much lenity, that they are much better off than we are—they having nothing to do but mind their work, and perform their daily labor, without any of the anxieties and cares which those that have the charge of family concerns upon them, have to experience.

Rep. That must be a little singular indeed! you must certainly be a very indulgent and tender hearted sort of people, thus to take all the hardest lots of life upon yourselves, and indulge the slaves with the easiest:—would it not, think you, be acting more consistently with justice, if you would make them change conditions with you?

sometimes, that they might have some difficulties to encounter, and not you to have them all?

Mon. This would be something unnatural.

Rep. Yes—and a little unpleasant too. But you will please to recollect that after your aching heads, anxious breasts, and tender hearts, have been worn out in smoothing the paths of life for your high fed and highly indulged slaves, your heirs, to whom you may bequeath them for an everlasting inheritance, may not be as tender of their feelings as you were.

Mon. They will, probably, be no worse off in that case, than slaves are in general.

Rep. We will now leave those easy paths of life which you have smoothed for your slaves to walk in, and, after you are quietly sleeping in your graves, and your souls gone to render an account of their stewardship, and take a turn along some of the avenues of woe, in which it is the common lot of slaves, in general, to walk.—Here the saddening scene unfolds its sable iron doors, and the gloomy horrors to which these children of bondage are doomed by the religion professing republicans of America, emerge from their caverns, and the doleful accents of sorrow, appal the human breast.

Attend a moment, to these victims of pretended christian tender heartedness, and see them in their defenceless and forlorn situation:—Here you see the husband torn from the embraces of his tender wife, or the wife from the husband, and born away by worse than savage cruelty to a foreign market, in pointed violation of that stern command of our great lawgiver and final judge—"those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." And there you see Children by hundreds forced away by violence from the tender embraces of their fond and feeling parents, and with streaming eyes, and hearts convulsed with anguish, enough to melt the iron heart of Pluto, or any other besides that of a slave dealer, stretch out their helpless arms to clasp once more the authors of their birth with agonizing breasts, but all in vain;—"knotty whips," and harder hearts, drive them off to distant climes, and terrible bondage, no more to experience the fostering care and soothing smiles of parental affection;—whilst the bereaved parents are lost in sorrow's saddest sullen gloom.

And, besides, the whole group of female slaves, unprotected by law, stand exposed to the mercy and will of the fiercest foulest sons of lechery and domination, to violate their chastity by worse than brutal force;

and the abused victims of the white man's hellish lust, dare not complain; or seek redress, or they are liable to be severely punished by law; for having dared to expose the character of an unprincipled lecher!

Thus are those unhappy people exposed to every torture of body and mind, and in most respects, unprotected by law; degraded in person and intellect as near to the level of brutes as rationals can be sunk; wilfully withheld from all benefit of literature; or knowledge derived from learning, uneducated, wretched, and miserably forlorn; and this too, in a highly christian professing country.

Mon. From the several statements you have made on the subject, slavery places our country in a very criminal point of view.

Rep. There is no nation under heaven that could have misused us, or any other part of their species, as we have misused the unoffending Africans, even in the most favorable part of our conduct towards them, and yet have done, as that nation would that we, or others should do to them, either in an individual or national point of view; and it was for the legal and gradual removal of this foul blot from our national character—this infringement on the rights of justice and humanity, and violation of the laws of heaven and of nature, that manumission societies have been instituted.

Mon. I shall now retire from the field of controversy, and take the subject into a more mature investigation than I have hitherto done.

Rep. Do so, and yield to the voice of reason, justice, and humanity, and above all, to the spirit of evangelical religion, and then you will have given you a disposition to open the prison doors to those you have in bondage—to break every yoke; and to let your oppressed slaves go out free; and that divine Providence who will have opened your heart to thus discharge your duty to your oppressed brethren, will also open a way, in his infinite wisdom, for the disposal of them, to the mutual advantage of both the emancipators, and the emancipated.

Approved by the Inspecting Committee of the Manumission Society, April 10th, 1824.

STEPHEN BROOKS, *Chairman.*

SLAVE TRADE. This disgraceful traffic is still continued, notwithstanding the great exertions to suppress it.—A vessel arrived at Matanzas, the last week in April, from Africa, with one hundred and forty slaves on board.

BALT. PAP.

THE EDITOR TO THE PUBLIC.

Proposals having been issued for publishing this work in the city of Baltimore, Md. after the present volume shall be completed, it may be proper to state some of the reasons for this contemplated change in the location of the establishment.

In conducting the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," it has ever been my steady aim to inculcate the opinion that Slavery is a *national evil*, in the most emphatical sense of the word; and, consequently, that the exertions of the people in all parts of the United States, will be requisite to effect its abolition. Hence it has been a leading object with me, to divest the paper of local or sectional features, that it might circulate generally, and partake of a national character. These motives have been duly appreciated by my fellow citizens, and its circulation has extended to nearly every State in the Union. At the time when I commenced my editorial labors, I was sensible that one of the Atlantic Cities would be, by far, the most suitable place for publishing such a work as mine; and I had fully determined on removing to Baltimore as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. That place, I was convinced, possessed superior advantages, on account of its central situation, and the numerous sources of information which that circumstance, together with others, would afford. But finding that the Manumission Society of Tennessee had procured a Press, for the purpose of exposing the pernicious effects of slavery, and disseminating the principles of Universal Emancipation; and that they were likely to fail in the attainment of their object, for the want of assistance in conducting their printing establishment, I concluded that, perhaps, it was a duty incumbent on me to render them my feeble aid in so laudable an undertaking, especially as I had received an invitation from them to that purport. When I located myself in Tennessee, however, I was not aware of the extent of mis-management in the mail department; and the sacrifice of between two and three hundred subscriptions to my paper, on that account, has been the consequence. The packets so frequently get wet and damaged in the mail, before they are taken into the Stage-Coaches, that the papers are often mutilated, and many never reach the place of their destination. The Post Master General has, it appears, used every exertion to correct these abuses; but hitherto those exertions have been measureably unavailing. I have received many letters from particular sections of the Union, in which the writers express an anxiety to have the work, but at the same time observe that it comes so irregularly to them, they derive but little satisfaction from it, and do not wish to pay their money without an equivalent.

The considerations arising from the above facts and opinions, have induced me to issue proposals for the publication of the paper in Baltimore, as aforesaid; and if sufficient encouragement may be held out, I shall remove there for that purpose. But in the event of my doing so, arrangements will be made by which the work may circulate in Tennessee, and parts adjacent, with the same facility that it now does; and to most other places, where it has been patronized, it will, in all probability, go much more regularly.—From Baltimore the mail is taken in Stages, in every direction, and packets may be kept dry, at least, until they nearly reach the place of their destination; and consequently they will sustain little or no injury should they get wet in carrying a short distance.—To a large portion of my subscribers, the paper would be taken the whole distance in stages.

The Press, belonging to the Manumission Society, may now be kept in steady employment without my assistance. All the printing the members may wish to have done, can be attended to.—One great cause of my fixing my residence in this section of country, therefore, is measurably done away.—Yet I wish it distinctly understood by all, that I shall still take as deep an interest in the affairs of that benevolent Association, as I have ever done. The favorable impressions made upon my mind by a knowledge of the virtuous sentiments of its members, a view of the noble stand they have taken, and the unshaken perseverance with which they have pursued their object, amidst the greatest discouragements, cannot soon be effaced from my memory.—Their communications will at any time be thankfully received, and I shall ever be happy to consider myself a co-worker with them in the Christian Republican vineyard of Universal Emancipation.

B. LUNN.

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americane, plead for the rights of mankind,
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

HUMAN DEPRAVITY.

Come heavenly Muse, inspire my pen
To paint the deeds of sinful men—

I fain would soar above,
To taste the sweets of holy joy,
That hate and grief and pain destroy,
Producing peace and confidence,
And pure seraphic love;

Is this thy influence o'er my soul?
O may it e'er my thoughts control;
It gives th' extatic thrill;
It bids each selfish wish depart;
It quite transforms my wicked heart,
Disperses the gloom of mental night,
And aids th' imperfect will.

Extending o'er the world my view,
Earth's scenery wears a pallid hue.—
See wretchedness and pain,
With black revenge, and lust of gold,
And dissipation, empire hold;
While ignorance, dark as Egypt's night,
Supports their horrid reign.

In Afric's peaceful, lonely wild,
The father, husband, wife and child,
Slumbering in love and sleep,
Are hunted through the shades of night;
Robb'd and despoil'd of every right;
By "christians" seiz'd with horrid joy,
And freighted o'er the deep.

But hush, my Muse, nor tell the tale
Of wrongs they suffer as they sail—

Too vile, indeed, for song.
From lust, and pride, and love of gain,
They feel and suffer every pain
That human nature hates or fears,
Or can to man belong.

Like brutes in chains to market brought,
By Christian tyrants sold and bought,
And then asunder torn;
Again to suffer every grief,
And death alone their hoped relief,
Through years of pain and black despair,
They suffer and they mourn.

Behold the Priest, with holy hands!—
The word he reads, unfolds the plans
Of heaven, to save mankind;
Powerful to pray, exhort and preach,
And grace and truth and mercy teach,
Sinners he bids "repent and live,"
And free salvation find.

Now view this holy man, and see
His slave bound to the rugged tree,

And mercy all his prayer;—
The lash in horrid circles flung,
His naked, wounded back has stung!
O Lord! have mercy, loud he cries,
But mercy was not there.

Behold yon crowds, in dread array;—
The thunders roar, the lightnings play,
And death is dealt around;—
Like two black clouds, in tempests driven,
Charged with the thunderbolts of heaven,
Lo, fierce destruction flies abroad,
And carnage strews the ground!

Hell yawns; and quenchless fires burn;
Distress'd, to heaven, my eyes I turn;—
All heaven is fill'd with ire,
Th' Eternal Throne in darkness veil'd;
The lightnings flash—man's doom is seal'd;
The Angels read his awful fate,
And fan the dreadful fire!

Jesus, the Lamb, in arms appears:
Again, the scourge of cords he bears,
To drive the rebels out.—
Now seated on a great white cloud,
While seraphims around him crowd,
And vengeance seems to start to earth,
And the archangels shout!

But see Emanuel, loving, mild,
God's only son, heaven's darling child,
The awful stroke receive!
Then cries: "O Father! justice spare;
Perhaps they will thy servants hear;
Perhaps they will repent and turn,
And thou wilt them forgive."

W. M.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The favors of a number of valuable correspondents, together with a great mass of matter, selected for the pages of this work; must lie over for the next volume. The editor finds it impossible to keep pace with the current of events, without condensing or abbreviating very much; and as the nature of some articles will not bear this, others must be dispensed with, altogether.—He will, however, pay a close attention to such matters as may seem likely to have the most desirable effect, and appear best calculated to promote the great object in view.

TERMS OF THIS PAPER.

One Dollar per annum, payable annually in advance.—The currency of the State in which the subscriber resides, received in payment.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

SUPPLEMENT TO VOL. III.

EMIGRATION TO HAYTI.

Never, since the question of abolishing slavery in America was first agitated, has so auspicious an occurrence presented itself by which we may be enabled to adopt sure measures for the consummation of that glorious undertaking, as the circumstances relating to the propositions made by President Boyer of Hayti. —Indeed, it may be said with truth that (politically speaking) a “Moses” has arisen to lead the children of Africa out of the land of America—out of the house of bondage. The reader will recollect that in the last Number of this work a letter from the Secretary General of Hayti was inserted, in which the idea was held forth that the coloured population of the United States would be accommodated in that Republic, provided the “Pharaohs” in authority would consent to “let them go.”—But since then we have received the important correspondence between the Rev. Loring D. Dewey, of New York, and President Boyer, completely taking away all grounds for advocating the continuance of Slavery in this country on the score of providing for the future destination of the slaves, when emancipated. The proceedings of the citizens of Boston, New-York and Philadelphia, evidence the popularity of the measure both among the white and coloured people; and it may be added, that it will be equally as popular, perhaps, in every other part of the Union, except among those who do not wish a termination of the system of Slavery, or such as are apprehensive that it will interfere with their missionary operations. To the first of these, little attention need be paid with the exception of an exposure of their baseness and corruption:—the last are requested to aid in settling our own house in order before we go to assist our neighbours in regulating theirs.—On this point, however, I shall have more to say, hereafter.

Many extensive proprietors of slaves will, no doubt agree to emancipate them in Hayti.—A very respectable gentleman in this state, who holds a large number and has occupied an important post in

the Councils of his country for several years, declares his willingness to let all his go thither. He entertains a high opinion of the excellent character of President Boyer, and thinks he will become one of the greatest men of the present age.

I have not room for further remarks, at present; but as the transportation of our black population to Hayti has ever been viewed by me as one great means of working out our country’s political salvation, I shall make it my business to collect all the information upon the subject, and shall also use every exertion to promote the great and important work.

CORRESPONDENCE

Between Rev. L. D. Dewey and President Boyer.

The following is an extract from the letter of the agent of the Colonization Society, to president Boyer, and his answer.

“Will you, Mr. President, furnish me information on the following points, for which I shall be truly grateful, and which may be very useful to the colored people in this country.

1. Were a number of families to migrate to Hayti, would your government defray any part of the expenses of the voyage, assign them land to cultivate, and aid them to stock their farms?
2. To what extent would your government encourage emigration—how much allow to each family for expense of passage, how much land to each family—and how much aid to stock each farm—and to how many families or individuals would all this assistance be given?
3. What encouragement would be offered to mechanics and merchants?
4. Though no assistance were given, would the opportunity to come and settle in your island, to any and to all who might choose to migrate there, be given in the same unrestricted manner in which our government gives it to all emigrants from other countries—what would be the cost of lands to such, and could they obtain it in large quantities,

so that numbers could settle down in the same neighborhood?

5. How far is toleration extended to different religions?

6. What are your laws in reference to marriage, and what is the state of society in this respect?

7. How far are schools supported?

8. Would your government allow the society to plant a colony in your island, having its own laws, courts and legislature, in all respects like one of the states of the United States and connected with and subject to the government of Hayti, only as each state is with our general government; and would land be furnished for such a colony?

Full information on these points would be esteemed a great favor, and were the answer in the affirmative to the 8th inquiry, or to the first part of it, if land could be purchased in sufficient quantity and at a suitable rate, I think something would soon be done to plant a colony under your government."

Liberty.

Equality.

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

Port-au-Prince, 30th April, 1824.

YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE, THE 21ST.

Jean Pierre Boyer, president of Hayti, to M. Loring D. Dewey, general agent of the society for African Colonization, of New-York.

SIR,—I had the satisfaction of receiving the letter of the 4th of March last, which you addressed to me, the contents of which breathe the most perfect philanthropy. To consecrate our cares, to meliorate the lot of a portion of the human race, sadly borne down by the weight of misfortune, is to prove the excellence of one's heart and to acquire an eternal right to the gratitude of every living creature that can feel. And the step which you have taken in reference to me, in favor of the descendants of the Africans, who are in the United States, and who are compelled to leave the country, because that, far from enjoying the rights of freemen, they have only an existence, precarious and full of humiliation, entitles you to the gratitude of the Haytiens, who cannot see with indifference the calamities which afflict their brethren.

As soon as I was informed of the resolution taken in the U. States to transport into Africa, our unhappy brethren, to restore them to their native sky, I

comprehended the policy which had suggested this measure, and at the same time conceived a high opinion of those generous men, who were disposed to make sacrifices, in the hope of preparing for the unfortunate men who were its objects, an asylum where their existence would be supportable. Thenceforward, by a sympathy very natural, my heart and my arms have been opened to greet in this land of true liberty those men upon whom a fatal destiny rests in a manner so cruel. I consider the intention to colonize barbarous regions with men accustomed to live in the midst of civilized people, as a thing impracticable, to say nothing more. The experiment made at Sherbro and at Mesurado prove that I was not far from the truth. In fine, sir, although Africa be the cradle of their fathers, what a frightful prospect is it for them, to see themselves exiled to insalubrious climes, after having inhaled the healthful breezes of the land of their birth!

I have often asked myself, why Hayti, whose climate is so mild and whose government is analogous to that of the United States, was not preferred as their place of refuge. Fearing that my sentiments would be misinterpreted, if I made the first overture, I contented myself with having explained to those of them that came to Hayti, all the guarantees and rights that the constitution of the republic has established in their favor. I have aided in freeing those from debt who could not quite pay for their passage: I have given land to those who wished to cultivate it; and, by my circular, of the date of the 24th of December, 1823, to the officers of districts, (of which I send you a copy,) you will convince yourself that I have prepared for the children of Africa, coming out of the United States, all that can assure them of an honorable existence in becoming citizens of the Haytian republic. But now that you make overtures, which seem to be authorized by the respectable society of which you are the general agent, I am about to answer frankly to the eight questions which you have addressed to me.

1. "If a number of families," &c. The government of the republic will aid in defraying part of the expenses of the voyage of those who cannot bear them, provided the Colonization Society will do the rest. The government will give

fertile lands to those who wish to cultivate them, will advance to them nourishment, tools, and other things of indispensable necessity until they shall be sufficiently established to do without this assistance.

2. "To what extent in number," &c. No matter what number of emigrants; all those who will come with the intention to submit themselves to the laws of the country shall be well received. The price of passage and other expenses shall be discussed by agents to obtain the most advantageous conditions. The quantity of ground shall be as much as each family can cultivate. For the rest, the utmost good will to the new comers, shall be the basis of the arrangements.

3. "What encouragement will be given to mechanics and merchants," &c. They shall have perfect liberty to labor in their respective professions. The only privilege will be an exemption from the law of patent for the first year.

4. "Will opportunity be given," &c. All those, I repeat it, who will come, shall be received, no matter what may be their number, provided they submit themselves to the laws of the state, which are essentially liberal and protecting, and to the rules of the police, which tend to repress vagrancy, to maintain good order, and to confirm the tranquility of all. There is no price to stipulate for, as respects the land; since the government will give it gratis, in fee simple, to those who will cultivate it. The emigrants will be distributed in the most advantageous manner possible, and those who may desire it, shall be placed in the neighborhood of each other.

They shall not be meddled with in their domestic habits, nor in their religious belief, provided they do not seek to make proselytes, or trouble those who profess another faith than their own.

What precedes is an answer to your fifth question upon the toleration of different religions.

5. "What are your laws relative to marriage," &c.

Marriage is encouraged, and good husbands and wives enjoy the same consideration as in other civilized countries.

7. "How far are schools," &c.

Every where, where there is a sufficiently numerous population, the government support schools to instruct the youth in the principles of morality and virtue.

8. "Will your government," &c.

That cannot be. The laws of the republic are general—and no particular laws can exist. Those who come, being children of Africa, shall be Haytiens as soon as they put their feet on the soil of Hayti; they will enjoy happiness, security, tranquility, such as we ourselves possess, however our defamers declare the contrary.

In fine, sir, to prove to you that I am disposed to do in favor of our brethren who groan in the U. States of America, under the yoke of prejudice, I am about to send to New York, funds, and a confidential agent, to enter into an understanding with you and the Colonization Society, with a view to facilitate the emigration to Hayti, of the descendants of Africans, who are disposed to come and partake with us the most precious blessings which we enjoy under Divine Providence.

It must not be imagined that the want of an increased population in Hayti is the motive which determines me to make this answer with the details into which I have entered. Views of a higher order direct me. Animated with the desire to serve the cause of humanity, I have thought that a finer occasion could not have presented itself to offer an agreeable hospitality, a sure asylum, to the unfortunate men, who have the alternative of going to seek upon the barbarous shores of Africa, misery or certain death. I shall not develop the advantages which will result to the people of your country from transporting to Hayti, the African population of which they wish to be delivered. Every one can perceive perfectly that it will be an infallible means of augmenting the commerce of the United States, by multiplying relations between two people, the similarity of whose principles of legislation and government ought necessarily to render them friends, although a blind prejudice seems, until now, to have put obstacles in the way of more direct relations between the one and the other. Light and philanthropy will doubtless make justice and reason to triumph.

You will speedily, sir, see the arrival in New York of the agent I am to send.

I have the honor to salute you with my most distinguished consideration.

BOYER.

From the New York Commercial Advertiser, of June 26.

Emigration to Hayti. An adjourned meeting of those gentlemen who have taken an active part in the incipient measures connected with this benevolent object, was held last evening in the New York Institution. Dr. Spring not being present, Thomas Eddy was called to the chair. The committee appointed at a former meeting made a report in favor of the immediate organization of a society to aid in the great object, which, after some little discussion, was adopted nearly unanimously. Indeed, the only difference of opinion that was manifested, was upon the comparatively unimportant question, whether the society should be general in its character, or by its title be made a local one, to co-operate with such others as may be formed in the neighbouring states. On the one hand, it was contended, that, this is a difficult and a delicate subject to manage in consequence of the peculiar situation and feelings of our southern brethren; and in consequence also of jealousies that may spring up between the society about to be organized, and the Colonization society. In reply to this was urged, that there could be no reasonable ground for such feelings on the part of our southern friends, as the object we have in view, is totally distinct from theirs. They are engaged in planting a colony upon the western coast of Africa; but we propose no such thing. We are not forming a colonization society, but only providing means to assist an unfortunate portion of our population to emigrate to a more genial country, among their own people, and where a well organized government is not only in successful operation, but firmly established. There is no necessity, therefore, for jealousies or the least collision between us. It was also further urged, that there appears to be but little reason to suppose that these jealousies will exist to any considerable extent. The project has been very favorably received by the public, and very kindly spoken of by the editors of all the leading papers as far south as Baltimore. Indeed it seems to have enlisted all the generous feelings, and best energies, of the benevolent and philanthropic, as far as we have heard from the adjacent cities and country towns. The report, as we have said above, was accepted,

and a society organized upon the plan recommended, viz: its concerns to be exclusively managed by a board of twenty-five directors. Twenty dollars secures a life-membership, and other than life members are to pay three dollars per annum.

These measures having been adopted, citizen Granville, who was present, rose, and in neat and forcible terms expressed the great satisfaction which he felt on the occasion. He moreover stated, that he was charged by his countrymen to make the inquiry whether; if a society of a similar kind should be formed in Hayti, it would be agreeable to this society, to allow them to co-operate with us, and to place in our hands, and at our disposal, all the funds which, as private individuals, they might be able to raise. The proposition was acceded to, with much satisfaction, and a resolution of thanks for the generous proposals adopted.

A communication was also received from the Rev. Mr. Cornish, the Rev. Peter Williams, and others, a committee appointed at a meeting of the colored population of this city, held a few days since, to take into consideration the subject of emigration to Hayti. From this communication it appears that the project is a very popular one, and the most respectable part of the population are desirous of rendering all the assistance in their power in the important work. They express, however, in strong and feeling terms, the regret which they feel at the language too frequently made use of in papers and communications, respecting the moral character and condition of their people. It is true, they admit, that from the prejudice and oppression under which they have suffered, their condition is far from being an enviable one; but they are not *all*, without any exception, the miserable and degraded & vicious beings that they have been represented to be; and they fear that such representations will have a tendency to injure them in the country where many of them will undoubtedly feel disposed to emigrate. They are pleased with the organization of the society, and submit the proposition whether it would not be well for them to organize a society also, to aid and assist, and select and recommend to our attention those among their people who wish to emigrate, and whom they can so recommend. The

communication was referred to the board of directors, and the meeting adjourned.

From the Boston Centinel.

HAYTI.

In compliance with the request of several very respectable gentlemen of this city, and the solicitations of persons of my own colour, I am induced to publish the following statement in relation to the country and government of Hayti. I the more cheerfully comply with these requests in hopes that those free people of colour especially who are disposed to seek an asylum for the enjoyment of liberty and the common rights of man in a foreign clime, may be benefitted by this publication.

Having been a resident for some months in the Island of Hayti, I am fully persuaded that it is the best and most suitable place of residence which Providence has hitherto offered to emancipated people of colour, for the enjoyment of liberty and equality with their attendant blessings. At an interview which I had with President Boyer, some months ago, he was pleased to make a verbal statement of the same offers to me as an organ of communication to the free people of colour in the United States, which he has recently made in the Colonization Society, in answer to several inquiries made by the Rev. Mr. Dewey.

After having made known to his Excellency the object of my visit, and having received permission from him to preach and discharge the duties of a missionary of the gospel in the Island, I never received the least molestation from any person; but on the contrary, was always treated with the greatest respect by all the officers of the government, and by all classes of the people.

The Island is delightfully situated, abounding with all the necessities and even the luxuries of life. It presents to the eye the most romantic and beautiful scenery; and while its verdant mountains recal to our minds what we have read of ancient *Gilboa, Tabor, Lebanon, Carmel*, and *Sion*, its fertile vallies present us with the rich luxuriance of the vallies of the Israelitish Canaan.

The staple productions are coffee, rice, tobacco, indigo, and Indian corn. The forests abound in the best mahogany, logwood, and fustic; and the pastures are literally covered with flocks and herds.

A yoke of well made oxen, measuring

six feet six inches, may be purchased for \$7 or \$18; a handsome cow and calf, for \$7; and swine and poultry at the same rate. The markets are supplied with plenty of fresh and salt water fish—oysters, lobsters, and turtles. A turtle weighing 80 or 90 lbs. may be purchased for \$2. Through the months of June, July, August and September, I resided upon the Island, and during this time, which is considered the hottest part of the year, and the most unhealthy to strangers, I enjoyed as good health as at any period of my life.

The Haytiens have made great progress in the mechanical arts, which receive liberal encouragement. Goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, tailors, bootmakers, painters, cabinetmakers, coopers, tanners, curriers, house-carpenters, ship-carpenters, turners, wheelwrights, tin-workers, sugar-manufacturers, and distillers, would find constant and profitable employment.

A country, the local situation of which is favorable to trade and commercial enterprise, possessing a free and well regulated government, which encourages the useful and liberal arts, a country possessing an enterprising population of several hundred thousands of active and brave men, who are determined to live free, or die bravely in defence of their freedom, must possess advantages highly inviting to men who are sighing for the enjoyment of the common rights and liberties of mankind. The time, I trust, is not far distant, when all wise and good men will use their influence to place the free coloured people of the U. States upon the delightful Island of Hayti.

THOMAS PAUL.

Boston, July 1st, 1824.

EDITORIAL.

“HUMANITY”—WITH A VENGEANCE!

A notorious Despot, in an adjoining county, it is said, lately beat one of his female slaves to death.—The villain is in the hands of the law.—A system of corruption—of worse than heathen barbarity—and of cold unfeeling brutality, which will, in all probability, implicate in some degree others besides the active agent in the horrid transaction, appears in this case to have been adopted, and which shall, hereafter be laid open, in all its rottenness to the view of the public.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

A.					
Anniversary		Page	1	Circular address	155
A. C.			4	Curse of slavery	174
American Colonization Society			14	Columbia, District of	181
Auspicious occurrence			16	Cheering	182
Acting Agents			24	Correspondence	193
Address to Branches			28	D.	
American Convention			29	Denunciations of the slave trade	46
Abolition of Slavery			37	Dialogue	63
Author's Apology, &c.			51	Delinquent patrons	64
Address to the Jefferson Branch			53	Dangers of emancipation	97
Abol. Intelligencer, from the			60	District of Columbia	97
Another bright star			65	Dream	160
American Convention			82	Demerara	169
A communication, &c.			99	E.	
American Convention			131	Extract	16
Agricultural Inquiry			140	Enquirer	29
Amicus Libertatis			144	Errata	32
Auspicious			148	Enquirer	37
A new periodical work, &c.			148	Expense of transporting	59
A friend and correspondent, &c.			149	Emancipation of slaves in Russia	59
Anticipation			149	Editorial correspondence	68
American Convention			152	Extracts from an oration	92
Address, from the Greenville				Extract of a letter, &c.	133
Branch			161	Emancipation	146
Address, from the Greenville				Extract of a letter, &c.	149
Branch			163	Extracts from a late pamphlet, &c.	158
Abolition of slavery, &c.			168	Extract of a communication, &c.	159
American Convention			169	Editorial	165
A negro man, &c.			174	Extract from Clarkson's pamphlet	174
A supplementary number, &c.			177	Emigration to Hayti	193
B.				Emigration to Hayti	196
Barbarians, a land of			8	Editorial	197
Beauties of slavery			22	F.	
Brutality			23	Fathers of African emancipation	9
Boston Society			57	Free or slave labor	17
Black List			62	Female pen, from a	40
Black List			78	Friend to Honesty	45
By the report, &c.			148	Free states	65
Black List			173	Friend to Truth	70
C.				Fellow Traveller	72
Coles' speech, extract from			7	Frederick County Freeholder	89
Circular			19	Friends of humanity	95
Consistency of H. Clay			23	Frederick County Freeholder	106
Colonization			33	From a late paper	110
Clergyman and his slave			51	Five minutes conversation	117
Constitution			59	Free blacks in Virginia	142
Catechism for coloured persons			67	Friends of humanity	155
Christian slavery			87	From various sources, &c.	157
Thomas Clarkson			110	From various sources, &c.	177
Columbia, republic of			111	G.	
Colonization			115	Greenville Branch	33
Colonization Society			132	Gilt Pocket Bible	64
				Gilt Pocket Bible	80

CONTENTS.

Gossiping	126	N.		
Horrors of slavery	23	New branches	17	
Hayti	76	Next president	52	
Hayti	91	Negro character	55	
Hypocritical slaveholder	96	New works	99	
Human Depravity	192	New book	147	
Hayti	197	New societies, &c.	147	
		Negro Tom	169	
Illinois	13	O.		
Illinois	20	Osborn J. W.	56	
Illinois	31	Oppression	79	
Illinois	33	Oppression	112	
Important Decision	46	Old Fashioned	124	
Indiana	67	Obituary	146	
Illinois	78	P.		
Insurrections	101	Philomathean Society	3	
"I think," said a student, &c.	103	Philo Humanitas	5	
Illinois, state of	113	Philo Humanitas	18	
Important proposition	139	President's Address	26	
Isaac Smith	168	President's Address	34	
Interesting correspondence	177	Philo Humanitas	41	
Illinois	179	Public dinner	56	
J.		Petersburg, &c.	59	
Juvenile Philanthropist	49	Prospectus	63	
Jamaica	95	Presidential election	65	
Juvenile Philanthropist	138	Premium for cotton	67	
Jonathan's visit to the south	176	President from a non-slaveholding state	67	
K.		Picture which kings might laugh at	68	
Kilgour's letter	59	Presidential election	74	
Kidnappers taken	61	Plan, &c.	67	
Kentucky sentiments	116	Pirates	96	
L.		Pennsylvania Abolition Society	126	
Law of S. Carolina	61	Presidential election	129	
Louisiana	95	Presidential election	145	
London society	108	Proposals, &c.	147	
Liberty is certainly, &c.	125	Presidency	178	
Lament for Mungo Park	128	Preceding volumes	182	
M.		Q.		
Manumission	8	Querist	87	
Modern Listener	12	R.		
My own concerns	17	Rachel, history of	15	
Manumission society	25	Republicanism—Slavery	49	
Modern Listener	43	Regent's Town, Dr. Ayres' account of	61	
Missionary fields	46	Republicanism and Slavery	66	
Melish's Travels	57	Republicanism and Slavery	101	
Memorial	83	Reason & Truth, &c.	121	
Mission to Hayti	83	Rhode Island recommendation	182	
Maryland prospects	83	Republicanism—Slavery	183	
Monarchus and Republicus	83	S.		
Monarchus and Republicus	103	Stolen goods	16	
Meditated Insurrection	107	Slave trade	21	
Monarchus and Republicus	118	Sickness	25	
Monarchus and Republicus	135	Slavery	48	
More retribution	148	Slavery condemned	65	
Manumission Society	161	Slave labor, produce of	86	
Monarchus and Republicus	165	Several articles, &c.	145	
Memorial to Congress	182	Suppression of the slave trade	148	
Monarchus and Republicus	187			

CONTENTS.

Shameless statesman	152	To correspondents	176
Slavery cannot breathe, &c.	152	To the editor of the Genius, &c.	187
Slave preacher	159	The editor to the public	191
Selections	173	To readers and correspondents	192
Slave trade	174	Terms	192
Slave's death-bed complaint	175	U.	
Slave trade	190	Unblushing impudence	11
T.		U. States' slave trade	81
Terms	8	Union	160
Terms	16	V.	
T.	41	Valley Warbler	16
Treatise on slavery	42	Voice of the waters	24
Terms	64	W.	
Terms	80	West Indies, slavery in	23
Toast	91	Weary negro	47
The attention &c.	97	When Freedom on the battle storm,	
Two private letters, &c.	97	&c.	112
Table	107	War	127
Terms	128	West Indies	131
The resolutions, &c.	128	Western Abolition Society	142
The progress of population, &c.	134	Y.	
Table	135	Young negroes for sale	144
The Legislature of S. Carolina, &c.	147	Z.	
The Petersburg, &c.	147	Z.	43